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Class, Culture, and Capital in *Sister Carrie*

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> "Aesthetic intolerance can be terribly violent. Aversion to different lifestyles is perhaps the strongest barrier between the classes." (Bourdieu, *Distinction* 56)

Despite frequent calls for greater sensitivity to class issues, class remains largely ignored in discussions of the literature and culture of the United States,[1] in part because of the long-standing myth that America is a uniquely "middle class" society without significant class conflict. One reason we have continued to hang on to the myth is that we have lacked an adequate theory for understanding how class operates in the U.S. The most common approaches, either explicitly or implicitly Marxist, have limited explanatory power in a country where class tensions are not reducible to a neat opposition between capital and labor. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Pierre Bourdieu offers a theory more applicable to American conditions. He recognizes the importance of symbolic or intangible attributes such as habits, tastes, manners, and life-style in determining access to cultural, political, and economic power and privilege; critiquing strictly economic approaches to class, he defines class in terms of "habitus," a deeply ingrained "system of dispositions" shared by members of a social group. Where status is linked to habitus, Bourdieu argues, blatant economic power (as exercised through spending, for example) must be disavowed and disguised, "so that what people do, *they do as if they were not doing it*" (*Distinction* 200; my emphasis).

Relying on an economic account of class, we might overlook class conflict in Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*, especially in the relationship between the upwardly mobile heroine, Carrie Meeber, and Robert Ames, her most distinguished love interest. Although Ames makes only two brief appearances, the first not until almost two-thirds of the way through the novel

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and the second in the penultimate chapter, he nonetheless plays a pivotal role. As a hardworking scientist, Ames is not an aesthete in the sense that James's Gilbert Osmond or Howells's Bromfield Corey are, effete lovers of beauty who are willing to spend money but not to soil their hands by earning it. Still, Ames is the novel's vehicle for "culture." His taste and apparent disdain for money mark his superiority to both Drouet, the dressy salesman, and Hurstwood, the once distinguished saloon manager.[2] More important for my discussion, Ames represents the habitus of the upper class, or haute bourgeoisie, that exists in tension with the vulgar materialism of Carrie's lower- or working-class habitus.

Dreiser's identification is split between Carrie, whose class background he shares and whose story parallels his own in many ways, and Ames, whose tastes and values he embraces to construct himself as an enduring elite writer in the mold of Honoré de Balzac and Thomas Hardy.[3] This split identification is best understood in the context of New York's literary milieu, Dreiser's writing career, and *Sister Carrie*'s publication history.

Carrie's "Spontaneous Materialism"

Treating class in economic terms, critics such as Rachel Bowlby, Philip Fisher, and Walter Benn Michaels represent Carrie as a rising member of the middle class and treat Ames as if he stands outside the novel's class concerns.[4] Michaels, for example, maintains that Carrie represents an "economy of desire [that] involves an unequivocal endorsement of . . . the unrestrained capitalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries." In contrast, Ames represents a pre-capitalist economy of scarcity in which desire is moderated and supply meets demand. "The Amesian ideal," Michaels writes, "is satisfaction, a state of equilibrium in which one wants only what one has" (35). While Michaels's argument is at times persuasive, in aligning Carrie with the speculator and Ames with the producer, it finally misrepresents the novel's class tension.

That tension becomes clear if we understand class in cultural rather than strictly economic terms. Ames possesses the education and cultivation, the "system of dispositions," that distinctly mark him as a member of the upper middle class, while Carrie, the daughter of a flour mill worker and herself a working girl, bears the marks of her working class origins; if she improves greatly over the course of the novel—learning to dress well, behave gracefully, and perhaps even to recognize fine literature—she ultimately fails to become Ames's social equal. She acquires the economic but not the cultural capital she needs to pass as a member of the privileged classes.

Rather than "capitalist" or "speculative," as Michaels and other recent critics would have it, Carrie is quite materialistic—she adores things and takes sensuous pleasure in them. Having lost her job in a Chicago shoe factory, she is literally as well as figuratively hungry, and her eagerness to consume is a healthy response to deprivation and an expression of her working-class habitus. The sensuous and classed nature of her desire is most evident when Drouet rescues her from the cold streets and treats her to a hot meal in an up-scale restaurant:

> [Drouet] chattered on at a great rate, asking questions, explaining things about himself, telling her what a good restaurant it was, until the waiter returned with an immense tray, bearing the hot savoury dishes which had been ordered. Drouet fairly shone in the manner of serving. He appeared to great advantage behind the white napery and silver platters of the table and displaying his arms with a knife and fork. As he cut the meat his rings almost spoke. His new suit creaked as he stretched to reach the plates, break the bread, pour the coffee. He helped Carrie to a rousing plateful and contributed the warmth of his spirit to her body until she was a new girl. (45)

Dreiser describes the experience from Carrie's point of view, giving the reader a vivid sense of the relief she feels inside this comfortable establishment, with its warmth, clean linen, and savory food, after being rescued from her alienating experience working for a shoe manufacturer and living in the depressing Hanson flat.[5] Carrie's spiritual and physical hunger is nourished here. In fact, in this scene vaguely suggesting a religious communion, the spiritual *is* the physical, or at least continuous with it, as Carrie is born again (she is a "new girl") as Drouet's warm "spirit" suffuses her cold "body."

Carrie's sensuousness extends even to the "soft, green, handsome ten-dollar bills" Drouet has "crumpled . . . up in his hand" (47). Unable to grasp its abstract value, Carrie values money for its materiality: "It was something that was power in itself. One of her order of mind would have been content to be cast away on a desert island with a bundle of money, and only the long strain of starvation would have taught her that in some cases it could have no value" (48). In other words, Carrie would be unable to appreciate the symbolic function of money until the physical need for sustenance became paramount. Similarly, Carrie revels in the goods displayed in department stores and loves clothes, with their attractive materiality, beyond all measure. "The city," Dreiser announces in the opening chapter, "has its cunning wiles no less than the infinitely smaller and more human tempter" (1), and it

is clothes that whisper most seductively:

> Fine clothes to her were a vast persuasion; they spoke tenderly and Jesuitically for themselves. When she came within earshot of their pleading, desire in her bent a willing ear. . . .
>
> "My dear," said the lace collar she secured from Partridge's, "I fit you beautifully; don't give me up."
>
> "Ah, such little feet," said the leather of the new, soft shoes; "how effectively I cover them. What a pity they should ever want my aid." (75)

Carrie's unrestrained pleasure in the sensuous object, the made thing, is a mark of her proximity to the site of production, of her working-class origins. She is very much the daughter of the father she remembers as covered in flour, so immersed in his labor that his body merges with the commodity he creates. But whereas the flour makes visible her father's working-class status, the shoes Carrie desires, the very kind of commodity she has helped produce, would not only caress her feet in their soft newness but "effectively . . . cover them" and thus help in her masquerade as a middle-class consumer.

The problem with labeling Carrie a consumer is that "consumer" is conventionally opposed to "producer" and identified with "bourgeois" and "leisured." First as "Mrs. Drouet" in Chicago and then as "Mrs. Wheeler" in New York, she can for a time play the role of the typical middle- or upper-middle-class, leisured, feminine consumer described by social historians of the nineteenth century. But for much of the novel she is simultaneously a producer, first in a shoe factory, later in the mass entertainment industry. Her hunger for the appealing objects displayed in the department stores, and the life of physical comfort they represent, is never fully sated, as we might expect of one with a working-class habitus.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu makes clear the origin of Carrie's materialism. In contrast to the bourgeoisie's " 'modest' taste which can defer its gratification," he describes "the spontaneous materialism of the working classes, who refuse to participate in the Benthamite calculation of pleasures and pains, benefits and costs" (180). This "spontaneous materialism," or craving for immediate gratification, is grounded in objective conditions:

> [T]he propensity to subordinate present desires to future desires depends on the extent to which this sacrifice is "reasonable," that is, on the likelihood . . . of obtaining future satisfactions superior to those sacrificed. . . . The hedonism which seizes day by day the rare satisfactions ("good times") of the immediate present is the only philoso-

> phy conceivable to those who "have no future" and, in any case, little to expect from the future. (180–83)

Carrie's desire to consume is a form of this "spontaneous materialism." As soon as she has the promise of a job in the shoe factory, she imagines a life of immediate gratification, a way of thinking associated directly with her class: "Her fancy plunged recklessly into privileges and amusements which would have been much more becoming had she been cradled a child of fortune. With ready will and quick mental selection she scattered her meager four-fifty per week with a swift and graceful hand. . . . 'I will have a fine time,' she thought" (22). After sickness costs Carrie her job, she has "little to expect from the future"—another menial job and a continuation of her dreary life at the Hansons' or a return to the small-town she had fled. When Drouet rescues her and brings "good times," she finds it hard to subordinate her hedonism. Strolling through the "great Fair store" with Drouet's bills in her purse, she wavers—"lured by desire, and yet deterred by conscience or want of decision." "If she would only make up her mind," she thinks, "she could have one of those [lace corsets] now" (51). Briefly, conscience tips the balance its way, but as soon as Drouet takes her in hand, thoughts of sacrifice recede: "Behold, the whole fabric of doubt and impossibility had slipped from her mind" (52).

Perhaps to assuage conventional readers, Dreiser takes pains to emphasize that Carrie's materialism is not incompatible with idealism. In the coda, he firmly places Carrie among "poets and dreamers—artists all" whose emotional natures respond to "the ebb and flow of the ideal" (368). Dreiser concedes that Carrie has veered from "honest labour" and "the long, long road that never reaches beauty" and has instead followed Drouet and Hurstwood down "the despised path leading to her dreams quickly." But in defense of his heroine's desire for immediate gratification, Dreiser adds that it is "[n]ot evil, but longing for that which is better" that drives her (368). To Carrie, Drouet and Hurstwood are "personal representatives of a state most blessed to attain," a state of "comfort and peace" where the needs of both body and soul are met (369). Carrie's spontaneous materialism thus implicitly critiques the Western philosophic tradition in which spiritual and material are held in binary and hierarchical opposition, a tradition that underwrites the nineteenth-century bias against the laboring body.[6] If the material and spiritual are opposed in *Sister Carrie*, it is in the tension between a habitus characterized by an unrestrained or undeferred desire born of deprivation and a habitus distinguished by an ascetic attitude made possible by a certain distance from necessity.

Ames's Cultivated Restraint

Carrie's and Ames's different cultural styles are registered in their reactions to Sherry's, the posh Fifth Avenue restaurant where they have their first extended conversation. Having read about Sherry's in the society pages, Carrie feels she has finally been admitted within the charmed circle of privilege: "In all Carrie's experience she had never seen anything like this. . . . There was an almost indescribable atmosphere about it which convinced the newcomer that this was the proper thing" (233). Much to Carrie's surprise, Ames disapproves of the place and its patrons. "Do you know," he comments to Carrie, "I sometimes think it is a shame for people to spend so much money this way. . . . [T]hey pay so much more than these things are worth. They put on so much show" (235–36). "I shouldn't care to be rich," he remarks a bit later, "not rich enough to spend my money this way" (237). Ames behaves as if money and class were negatively correlated, confusing Carrie, who believes wealth is the means to status and power. The "classy" Ames teaches Carrie that merely spending money does not guarantee distinction, that one must spend it in a restrained, refined fashion, or perhaps not spend it at all. In thus displaying disdain for material excess, he asserts his class superiority in ways that are all the more effective for being subtle and probably unconscious.

Instead of sharing Carrie's pleasure, as he does in the earlier restaurant scene, Dreiser joins Ames in criticizing the establishment and its patrons:

> Once seated, there began that exhibition of showy, wasteful, and unwholesome gastronomy as practiced by wealthy Americans, which is the wonder and astonishment of true culture and dignity the world over. The large bill of fare held an array of dishes sufficient to feed an army, sidelined with prices which made reasonable expenditure a ridiculous impossibility. . . .
>
> On the walls were designs in colour, square spots of robin's-egg blue, set in ornate frames of gilt, whose corners were elaborate mouldings of fruit and flowers, with fat cupids hovering in angelic comfort. (234–35)

Clearly, Sherry's and its patrons violate the standards of good taste. The narrator identifies this vulgarity as typically American, but he also implies that he and Ames are exceptions since their "wonder and astonishment" at the spectacle signify their "true culture and dignity."

The dinner at Sherry's is but one of the eating scenes that structure Carrie's rise and that reveal the opposition between lower-class and bourgeois

habituses. In the following passage from *Distinction*, Bourdieu sheds light on the matter:

> In opposition to the free-and-easy working class meal [characterized by plenty and freedom], the bourgeoisie is concerned to eat with all due form. Form is first of all a matter of rhythm, which implies expectations, pauses, restraints; waiting until the last person served has started to eat, taking modest helpings, not appearing over-eager. . . . This extension of rigorous rules into everyday life . . . is the expression of a habitus of order, restraint, and propriety which may not be abdicated.

It is also, Bourdieu asserts, "the basis of all aestheticization of practice and every aesthetic" (196).

While Carrie's meals at the working-class Hansons' are decidedly joyless, things are much more "free-and-easy" at the shoe factory, where, during their lunch break, the women casually "ranged themselves about the windows or the work benches of the men who had gone out," filling the room with "chatter and comment"—as well as "familiar badinage" (30) with male workers.

Carrie, with her innate "refinement of feeling" (72), is repulsed by such "hard and low" (30) behavior, and as the novel progresses the scenes of eating in which she appears increasingly take on the "due form" of bourgeois aestheticized practice. Drouet sits at the restaurant window "to see and be seen" (44), and he impresses Carrie perhaps as much with his skill "in the matter of serving" as with the "rousing plateful" (45) of food he sets before her. Carrie herself has a "natural love of order" (69) that makes her a good housekeeper. For over a year in New York, she is content in her middle-class flat largely because of its aesthetic qualities—furniture that makes "an excellent showing" (220), a piano that she thinks she will learn to play someday, a husband who keeps up his "show of fine manners" (221). Carrie herself becomes adept at "the art of making biscuit, and soon reached the stage where she could show a plate of light, palatable morsels for her labour" (221). Labor has been transformed into art, consumables into display, with "stage" and "light" possibly being puns evoking the novel's pervasive theatrical imagery.

Sherry's, like Hurstwood's "truly swell saloon" (33), certainly represents an aestheticization of eating and drinking. All is ritualized in "this wonderful temple of gastronomy" (233)—the lobby is "guarded" by a "portly gentlemen," "uniformed youths" take coats, waiters perform "genuflections"—creating "an air of assurance and dignity" that deeply im-

presses Carrie the "noviate" (234). But Sherry's is merely a parody of bourgeois "due form," an effort by parvenus to emulate their social betters in ways that only reveal their crassness. Mr. Vance may seem to be delaying gratification by "inviting counsel and suggestions" before ordering, but he does not thereby restrain his appetites: "He ordered freely of soup, oysters, roast meats, and side dishes, and had several bottles of wine brought, which set down beside each table in a wicker basket" (235). Those "fat cupids hovering in angelic comfort" are thus a wonderfully comic symbol of the pretentious Vances and the rest of Sherry's clientele.

To the extent that Carrie sees "dignity" in all this excess, she has failed to adopt the bourgeoisie's habitus, which is much more than a style of eating:

> It is also a whole relationship to primary needs and the populace who indulge them without restraint; the censorship of all bodily manifestations of the act or pleasure of eating (such as noise or haste) . . . [is a way of denying] the crudely material reality of the act of eating and of the things consumed, or, which amounts to the same thing, the basely material vulgarity of those who indulge in the immediate satisfactions of food and drink. (Bourdieu, *Distinction* 196)

Ames's asceticism is a way to deny and disguise the "crudely material reality" of eating, as well as to distinguish himself from "the basely material vulgarity" of the conspicuous consumers at Sherry's.

In *The Hidden Injuries of Class*, Richard Sennet and Jonathan Cobb dispute Bourdieu's idea that workers are essentially materialistic: "history is challenging them and their children to become 'cultured,' in the intellectual's sense of the word, if they want to achieve respect in the new American terms; and toward that challenge they feel deeply ambivalent" (18). And indeed, upon meeting Ames, Carrie becomes dissatisfied with mere economic success and begins to feel her cultural inadequacy. Sennett and Cobb would probably agree that the lack of symbolic capital is more painful than the lack of economic capital because the latter appears potentially correctable while the former masquerades as an inherent deficiency.

Consuming Culture

The "opposition between immediate and deferred, the easy and the difficult . . . exposed in a particularly striking fashion in bourgeois ways of eating" (Bourdieu, *Distinction* 196) also expresses itself in Carrie's and Ames's contrasting literary and dramatic tastes. Ames surprises Carrie by

extending his censorship of the restaurant to the literature she has thought noteworthy. When the Vances bring up Albert Ross's popular romance *Moulding a Maiden*, which Mrs. Vance has enjoyed and Mr. Vance has seen discussed in the newspaper, Ames scorns Ross, as well as best-selling author Bertha Clay[7]—and implicitly the tastes of their readers:

> "[Albert Ross] doesn't amount to much. . . . His stuff is nearly as bad as [Bertha Clay's] 'Dora Thorne,' " concluded Ames.
>
> Carrie felt this as a personal reproof. She read "Dora Thorne," or had a great deal in the past. It seemed only fair to her, but she supposed that people thought it very fine. Now this clear-eyed, fine-headed youth, who looked something like a student to her, made fun of it. It was poor to him, not worth reading. She looked down, and for the first time felt the pain of not understanding. (236–37)

American popular literature, like the newspapers that discuss it, is too accessible, too easily consumed in its pandering to the desire for immediate gratification.

Ames displays his superiority by his preference for more difficult, preferably European, literary fare, for which one must cultivate a taste in order to be "improved."[8] In the original penultimate chapter, where Ames makes his second and last appearance, Carrie reports that she has been reading the books he has recommended: Balzac's *The Great Man from the Provinces*, Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, and Francis Marion Crawford's *Saracinesca*.[9] When she expresses her preference for *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, Ames is not surprised since, he says, her "disposition" is as "gloomy" (Penn 481) as Hardy's novels. Serving as a foil to the developing Carrie, Mrs. Vance reveals her inability to appreciate fine literature: "Let's see . . . didn't Hardy write 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles,' or something like that? . . . Well, I couldn't see so much in that. It's too sad" (481). When Ames expresses contempt for his cousin's insensitivity to "the pathetic side of life," Carrie feels like a dutiful pupil who has pleased her teacher: "'There!' thought Carrie triumphantly." Continuing in the role of teacher, Ames recommends *Père Goriot* and the rest of Balzac: "He was thinking to start her off on a course of reading which would improve her. Anyone so susceptible to improvement should be aided" (482).[10]

Perhaps Dreiser excised this conversation because it shows Carrie to be more "susceptible to improvement" than was realistic. At the end of the 1900 edition, Carrie, in her chambers at the Waldorf, is reading *Père Goriot*: "It was so strong, and Ames's mere recommendation had so aroused her interest, that she caught nearly the full sympathetic significance

of it. For the first time, it was being borne in upon her how silly and worthless had been her earlier reading, as a whole" (363). As this passage suggests, Carrie has not developed much intellectually. Ames has pointed out an object of interest, but her "sympathetic" response is intuitive; he has actually taught her only enough to understand her own intellectual deficiencies and to feel a sense of inadequacy.

Ames, of course, expresses Dreiser's own literary preferences. In *A Book About Myself* (1922), for example, Dreiser describes the effect of discovering Balzac in 1894 while reporting for the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*: "I cannot imagine a greater joy and inspiration than I had in Balzac these Spring and Summer days in Pittsburgh. Idyllic days, dreamy days, poetic days, wonderful days, the while I ostensibly did 'police and city hall' in Allegheny" (412). And, as a 1902 letter to Richard Duffy shows, he considered Hardy "the greatest figure in all English literature" (White 122). If Balzac and Hardy represented the highest literary achievement in Dreiser's view, then Bertha Clay and Albert Ross represented the lowest. In a 1921 article ironically entitled "Why Not Tell Europe About Bertha Clay?" for example, Dreiser ridicules both writers as the worst America has to offer. As in the Sherry's scene, in the penultimate chapter Dreiser identifies with Ames not only to criticize Carrie's "low" aesthetic but also to position himself as a "high" literary realist in the mold of Balzac or Hardy.

Just as Carrie does not know what books to read, she also does not know what kind of actor to be. As Dreiser specified in notes preserved with the manuscript, she is in the mold of Lillian Russell,[11] a popular star in lowbrow comedies who holds roughly the position in the dramatic field that Bertha Clay does in the literary field. Carrie is not a tragedian like Sarah Bernhardt, the "great French actress" (Norton 271n1) whom Carrie reads about in the newspaper and whom Ames would probably admire much as he admires Balzac and Hardy.

Drawing Symbolic Boundaries

During their first meeting, Carrie asks Ames if he thinks it would be "rather fine to be an actor," her secret aspiration, and Ames responds, "Yes, I do . . . to be a good one" (238). Carrie is thrilled: "Just this little approval set Carrie's heart bounding. Ah, if she could only be an actress—a good one! This man was wise—he knew—and he approved of it. If she were a fine actress, such men as he would approve of her" (238). Even as she becomes a star, Carrie wonders if she is the kind of "fine actress" of whom Ames would approve. Four years after their first meeting, Ames goes with

his cousin to see one of Carrie's shows, and, predictably, he is unimpressed. "She ought not to be in comedy," he tells Mrs. Vance. "I think she could do better than that." Later that evening at Mrs. Vance's house, Ames makes Carrie feel that her quite considerable achievements are worthless:

> Success had given her the momentary feeling that she was now blessed with much of which he would approve. As a matter of fact, her little newspaper fame was nothing at all to him. He thought she could have done better, by far.
>
> "You didn't go into comedy-drama,[12] after all?" he said. . . .
>
> "No," she answered, "I haven't, so far."
>
> He looked at her in such a peculiar way that she realised she had failed. (354)

Ames implies that being a popular comic actress makes Carrie a hack. On another occasion, he tells her that her natural sympathy and expressiveness fit her for the stage and that she has "the burden of duty" to "do something with it." She must not "live to satisfy [herself] alone" (356)—meaning, presumably, that she should look beyond the immediate and concrete rewards of money and comfort and should make the sacrifices, financial and otherwise, necessary to become a high priestess of art. "If you want to do most, do good," advises Ames in a passage from the longer original version of the scene. "Serve the many. Be kind and humanitarian. Then you can't help but be great" (Penn 486). This anti-economic attitude, however, is not easy to assume for someone like Carrie, who has so recently experienced deprivation.

In the Pennsylvania Edition, Dreiser expands on this theme. When Carrie expresses her sadness over the failure of Lucien de Rubemfré in Balzac's *The Great Man from the Provinces*, Ames criticizes Lucien, a character who has much in common with Carrie:

> "Yes . . . if a man doesn't make knowledge his object, he's very likely to fail. . . . It's the man who fails in his mind that fails completely. Some people get the idea that their happiness lies in wealth and position. . . . When I was quite young I felt as if I were ill-used because other boys were dressed better that I was, were more sprightly with the girls than I, and I grieved and grieved, but now I'm over that. . . . It comes down to this. . . . If you have powers, cultivate them. The huzzas of the public don't mean anything." (Penn 482–83)

Ames implicitly criticizes Carrie's vulgar grasping after "wealth and posi-

tion" here; what is important is to "cultivate" one's "knowledge" and "mind," as Ames has done. ("He really had a very bright mind, which was finding its chief development in electrical knowledge" [Norton 237].) "Cultivation" is a mark of class, requiring long training and frequent deferring of gratification. Ames seems unable to imagine that for Carrie the desire for financial security and material comfort signifies a primary need rather than a character deficiency.

Dreiser apparently revised the penultimate chapter partly because, as his manuscript notes indicate, he did not want Ames to be a "matrimonial possibility" for Carrie (West, Berkey, and Winters 516). That possibility is evident in the above passage in Ames's youthful jealousy of better-dressed, more socially adept boys, feelings that resemble Carrie's in her younger days. In other words, Ames seems to have a working-class background that would make him a suitable mate for her. The possibility is even more evident when Dreiser, near the end of the scene, suggests not only Carrie's physical beauty but also her intellectual equality with Ames: "She was colorful and dainty—the perfect Carrie in mind and body, because now her mind was aroused" (Penn 485). If Carrie, having cultivated herself under Ames's tutelage, were to marry him, the novel might be read as a testament to the weakness of class barriers in America, to the possibility of abandoning one habitus for another.

In the 1900 edition, Ames is so thinly developed that a few details— he is "well dressed" (232), he looks "something like a student" (237), there is "nothing responsive" (353) between him and Carrie—suggest that he is a man of privilege and that the class barriers are firmly in place. Carrie always defers to Ames's cultural authority, even when her own tastes are implicated in his judgments. At Sherry's, after Ames dismisses the novels she likes, she "felt it was just kindly thought of a high order—the right thing to think, and wondered what else was right, according to him" (237). Accepting Ames's invidious distinctions, she feels a painful sense of inferiority and exclusion in his presence: "This man was far ahead of her. . . . She noticed, also, that his interest in her was a far-off one. She was not in his life, nor in any of the things that touched his life" (237). Ames and his judgments continue to haunt Carrie throughout the following chapters: "It was a strong, clean vision. He liked better books than she read, better people than she associated with. His ideals burned in her heart. . . . 'It's fine to be a good actress,' came distinctly back. . . . What sort of actress was she?" (293). That Ames makes Carrie despise her own considerable achievements—"He looked at her in such a peculiar way that she realized she had failed"—is testimony to one of Bourdieu's important insights:

"Aesthetic intolerance can be terribly violent. Aversion to different lifestyles is perhaps the strongest barrier between the classes" (*Distinction* 56).[13]

Ames has made Carrie dissatisfied with her acting career, but, as Sennet and Cobb would no doubt predict, she feels "deeply ambivalent" towards his moral and aesthetic standards. His criticism affects her "like roiling helpless waters" (357). She wants the higher life he represents, yet she instinctively realizes the painful sacrifices required to achieve it: "Still, she did nothing—grieving. It was a long way to this better thing—or seemed so—and comfort was about her; hence the inactivity and longing" (357). As rich and successful as she is, Dreiser implies here, she will never cross the symbolic boundaries between them.[14]

One's attitude towards publicity is also an important class marker. As we have seen, Carrie gets her idea about Sherry's "gorgeousness" from the gossip columns, while Ames's very different attitude is probably based on experience. When Mrs. Vance gushes over the comedian they plan to see in "Lord Chumley"—"Oh, he is so good!"—Ames pointedly responds, "I notice the papers praise [the play]" (232). That Mr. Vance has read about Albert Ross in the newspaper indicates both his and Ross's lack of distinction. In the penultimate chapter, Carrie is pleased with the attention she receives in the newspaper, but, as we have seen, she is considerably deflated by Ames's utter indifference to her "little newspaper fame." In the Pennsylvania Edition, when Carrie mentions reading about his electrical invention in the paper, he responds with apparent chagrin, "Yes, I know. . . . I didn't want that published" (Penn 480). Later in the scene, he criticizes Balzac's Lucien for seeking public adulation, remarking that "[t]he huzzas of the public don't mean anything" (Penn 482). Lucien is an appropriate object lesson, for he abandons his poetic aspiration for the money and recognition sensational journalism brings him, much as Carrie has failed to pursue her aspiration to be a "fine actor" once she has made a popular success. According to Ames, Lucien and Carrie both lack the ability to defer gratification and control appetites that he himself has mastered.

Dreiser's disparagement of the popular press seems at odds with the fact that he himself was a newspaper and magazine contributor throughout his life (and not always to elite publications) and incorporated some of his own journalistic writings into the novel.[15] While Dreiser sometimes clearly aligns himself with Balzac, Ames, and high art, his strong sympathy for his disreputable heroine unfortunately marked him as an outsider to the elite literary establishment, which met his first novel with much the same kind of haut bourgeois disapproval that Ames inflicts on Carrie.

The New York Literary and Artistic Field

In some important ways, Dreiser's literary New York resembled nineteenth-century Paris as Bourdieu describes it in "Flaubert's Point of View." According to Bourdieu, "the relationship between the producers of culture and dominant social groups" in mid-nineteenth-century France was quite different from what it had been when artists were dependent on patrons. Now artists were subject to other kinds of forces:

> On the one hand, the market worked either directly, through sales and so on, or indirectly, through the new jobs produced by journalism, publishing and all the forms of what Sainte-Beuve called "industrial literature." On the other hand, the enduring connections, founded on affinities of lifestyle and values, through the salons in particular, tied at least some kinds of writers to certain segments of high society and served to guide state subventions of the arts. This subtly hierarchical world of the salon helped structure the literary field and ensure exchange between those in power and the most conformist or the most prestigious writers.

The expansion of the literary market, Bourdieu continues, coincided with a flood of "impecunious young men" from the provinces and from the lower-class sections of Paris, all hoping for careers as writers or artists—"careers that until then had been reserved for the aristocracy or the Parisian bourgeoisie" and that were "[e]ndowed with the prestige of romanticism" (194–95). Although these structural changes brought about some alienating effects, Bourdieu continues, they also opened "the possibility for what Max Weber called the 'proletaroid intelligentsia' to make a living, however precarious, from all the minor jobs tied to 'industrial literature' and journalism" (195).

The late nineteenth-century New York-Boston literary field was similarly organized. On the one hand, it was dominated by elite authors, magazine editors, and publishers, all with shared cultural values and social and economic connections. For instance, William Dean Howells began working at the Boston-based *Atlantic* in 1866, succeeding James T. Fields as editor-in-chief in 1871. There, Howells published much of his own work, as well as that of his good friend Henry James. Moving to New York in 1881, Howells began a long association with *Harper's Monthly,* edited by Henry Mills Alden for nearly 50 years, where he also published his own work, wrote a column for a time, and acted the patron to many aspiring young writers, including Stephen Crane and Frank Norris. According to Richard

Brodhead, between 1860 and 1900, the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, and *Century Magazine*—a New York magazine established in 1880 and edited by Richard Watson Gilder for 28 years—"achieved an identification as the three American 'quality journals.' This means that these three journals produced the same high or distinguished zone in the literary realm that the classical museum or symphony orchestra produced in art or music, a strongly demarcated high status arena for high artistic practices." By publishing or reviewing the work of an aspiring writer, Gilder and Howells had the power to bestow the "literary honor" (140 n43) that Dreiser, unlike Stephen Crane and Frank Norris, failed to garner early in his career.

Dreiser's first publishers, Doubleday, Page, very much belonged to this literary establishment**.** Walter Hines Page was editor of the *Atlantic* after Howells, until Doubleday persuaded him to come to New York to work for McClure's; Page then left McClure's with Doubleday to start Doubleday, Page. (Page also eventually served as ambassador to England, which further illustrates his ties to power.) Frank Doubleday worked at Scribner's for 20 years (where Gilder had also worked, before starting the *Century*), then at McClure's for a couple of years, before starting his own publishing firm.

At the same time, however, New York was the site of a thriving "industrial literature"—dime novels, popular magazines and story-papers, and newspapers—which employed relatively large numbers of Weber's "proletaroid intelligentsia." Like those "impecunious young men" drawn to Paris by the promise of literary fame, Dreiser came from the American provinces to the big city in hopes of making a distinguished career in the literary field but wound up, at least for some years, only a high-level worker in the mass production of "industrial literature."

Although of course Carrie is an actress not a writer, her experience parallels Dreiser's in many ways. Most obviously, both worked their way from the provinces to New York City, a great center of literature and art. Carrie rises from a low- to high-level position in the mass entertainment industry, much as Dreiser worked his way up the ladder in the publishing industry. In *A Book About Myself*, Dreiser explicitly identifies with the Balzacian protagonists on whom he modeled Carrie:

> [T]he types he handled with most enthusiasm and skill—the brooding, seeking, ambitious beginner in life's social, political, artistic and commercial affairs (Rastignac, Raphael, de Rubemfré, Bianchon)—were, I thought, so much like myself. . . . [I]t was so easy to identify myself with the young and seeking aspirants. (411–12).

But while Carrie is ultimately unwilling or unable to pursue Ames's high

cultural ideals, Dreiser attempted to write himself out of the literary proletariat and construct himself as an artist in the high realist tradition.

Dreiser as Literary Proletarian

Dreiser got into the literary field by a kind of servants' entrance. The son of working-class parents who fought a losing battle for respectability, he began his career as a reporter for the *Globe*, Chicago's least reputable newspaper. Many journalists in Chicago in the 1880s, such as Eugene Field, had "scholarly credentials" and wrote for highly regarded publications, but Dreiser "was on the far side of the tracks from these luminaries" (Lingeman 97). At the *Globe*, he enjoyed writing sensational stories "full of color and lurid details . . . and the idea was to give readers a roller-coaster ride from the lower depths to the haut monde" (98). He went on to various newspapers in the Midwest before being drawn to New York City, the hub of the journalism world, in 1894. As Brodhead notes, the result was predictable: "Writing as Dreiser first admires it means something published in the newspaper, the genre of the cheap, the factual (and commercial), the readily consumable and disposable, and the up-to-the-minute." This is a very different concept from the notion of the writer as a "producer of highly crafted and enduring objects" (5) developed by the literary establishment—and later adopted by Dreiser himself in his role as high realist author of *Sister Carrie*. (These two contrasting conceptions of writing would find their parallel in Carrie's and Ames's differing understandings of "good" acting.)

After failing as a reporter for Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, where the competition was intense, Dreiser turned to the literary equivalent of light musical comedy. He talked Howley, Haviland, his brother Paul's song publishers, into letting him edit the new magazine they were planning to start as a way of promoting the firm's sheet music. Called *Ev'ry Month*, and for a time subtitled "The Woman's Magazine of Literature and Music" (Barrieneau xxxii), it was aimed, in Joseph Katz's words, at "newly arrived middle-class women" as well as "office and shop girls, wives whose husbands' status was neither lofty or secure" (qtd. in Barrineau xviii–xix). After two years as editor, Dreiser had a disagreement with Howley, Haviland and became a freelancer, aiming not at the exclusive *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, or *Century*, but at the new ten-cent periodicals such as *Munsey's*, *Frank Leslie's*, *Ainslee's*, *Comopolitan*, *Success*, and *McClure's*. His fortunes as a member of the literary proletariat waxed and waned, peaking in 1898 and hitting bottom with his nervous collapse in the years following the struggle to get *Sister Carrie* published, its mixed critical reception, and its

commercial failure.

From 1904 to 1906, Dreiser worked at Street and Smith, where he edited popular adventure novels for boys before being promoted to editor of the firm's new "home" magazine, *Smith's*, which was aimed at "the every-day reader who seeks entertainment." In the first issue, the publisher promised not to "tamper with the higher education or attempt to alter the present formation of the universe" (qtd. in Lingeman 392). Clearly, Street and Smith's publications were on the other side of the tracks from the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, and *Century*. Surely at this point Dreiser must have identified even more strongly with his heroine, who aspires to be a "good" actress and finds herself on the chorus line. If, as Lingeman claims, Dreiser rather enjoyed his job (390), he must also have felt the irony of working at such a pulp-fiction factory, especially one that boasted of having among its authors the same "Bertha M. Clay" he had ridiculed in *Sister Carrie*.

Dreiser left Street and Smith to serve as editor of *Broadway* for a year before accepting an offer in 1907 from the Butterick Company, manufacturer of sewing patterns, where he became the editor-in-chief of three of ladies' magazines. At Butterick, Dreiser enjoyed splendid new offices at the slick corporate headquarters and earned much higher pay than ever before. Like Carrie, he had made his way to the top of the mass entertainment industry. Asked in an interview why he worked for Butterick when he could write a book like *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser reportedly answered, "One must live. Don't you know the story of that book?" (qtd. in Lingeman 412).

For over a decade after the publication of *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser virtually disappeared from the "serious" literary scene, publishing no other novels until 1911. Having failed to gain admittance into the literary elite, he, like Carrie, gave up Amesian ideals in favor of comfort and stability.

Confronting the Censors

In looking for a publisher for *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser had first tried the prestigious Harper and Brothers, which rejected it. In his report, reprinted in the Pennsylvania edition, the Harper reader began by praising the book as "a superior piece of reportorial realism—of highclass newspaper work," praise that may not have pleased an author who considered himself to be writing in the tradition of Hardy and Balzac. The reader even finds "the portrayal of a certain below-the-surface life" to be handled with "very keen insight" and "sympathetic appreciation," but he seems uncomfortable with the very strengths he praises: "[T]here remains the feeling that the author has not risen to the standard necessary for the efficient handling of the theme.

His touch is neither firm enough nor sufficiently delicate to depict without offense to the reader the continued illicit relations of the heroine" (West, Berkey, and Winters 519). Using class-laden language, the reader implies that Dreiser's sympathies for the underclass reveal tastes and moral standards too low to satisfy the firm's respectable readers, particularly "the feminine readers who control the destinies of so many novels." After all, while the heroine is dissatisfied at the end of the novel, she is alive, healthy, and prosperous—unlike most other adulterous fictional heroines.

Before submitting the novel to Doubleday, Page and Company, Dreiser tried to address some of the Harper reader's objections. As we have seen, he toned down implications that Ames is a "matrimonial possibility" for Carrie and emphasized the gulf between them. He also took a brief passage of authorial commentary from the original end of the penultimate chapter and expanded it into a Balzacian coda speculating on the folly of Carrie's desire. At first, Dreiser ended the coda on a mildly optimistic note, implying the possibility of some happiness in Carrie's dreaming: "It is when the feet weary and the hope is vain, that the heartaches and the longings rise. Know then, that for you is neither surfeit nor content. In your rocking chair, by your window, dreaming, shall you long for beauty. In your rocking chair, by your window shall you still know such happiness as you may ever feel" (Penn 655). In retyping the ending, Dreiser's wife changed the final lines to criticize Carrie even more clearly: "In your rocking chair by your window dreaming, shall you long *alone*. In your rocking chair by your window shall you *dream* such happiness as you may *never* feel" (Penn 659; emphasis mine). Whether or not Dreiser approved of this editorial change, modified only in punctuation for the Doubleday, Page edition, the revised ending creates considerable distance between narrator and heroine. For today's readers, this ending seems more than adequate punishment for Carrie's moral lapses. "What more did Mr. and Mrs. Doubleday want?" Leslie Fiedler asks. "Blood? The death of the girl who had fallen?" (252).

Whatever the Doubledays wanted, Dreiser had not given it. After making his revisions, he offered his manuscript to the newer, more experimental firm Doubleday, Page and Company, which had just published Frank Norris's *McTeague*. Norris, a reader at the firm, praised Dreiser's manuscript, and Walter Page, the junior partner, soon wrote Dreiser with an offer to publish. But when Doubleday returned from a trip, he read the manuscript with "violent dislike," considering it "immoral and badly written."[16] Page then wrote Dreiser asking him to release the firm from its agreement. As if gently to correct his taste, Page advised Dreiser to publish a book about "a different kind of material" so as not to ruin his reputation—oddly recalling

Ames's "advice" to Carrie: "If I were you, I'd change." Page also objected to what the Harper reader called the book's "reportorial realism": "We all feel . . . that the mention of real names and places is a mistake, because it destroys the illusion and reduces the story . . . more nearly to the level of a mere narrative." Despite his revisions, Dreiser was unable to maintain the critical distance that would have made his low characters acceptable and earn him the literary status to which he aspired.

Dreiser insisted that Doubleday, Page honor their legal agreement to publish the novel, which they finally did in November 1900, but they refused to promote it or even to include it in their list of publications. The most important literary magazines—including the *Atlantic*, *Century*, *North American Review*, *Critic*, *Literary Digest*, *Current Literature*, *Nation*, and *Arena*—ignored *Sister Carrie* or merely listed it in their "books received" column (Lingeman 298). Reviews dribbled in over the course of many months rather than en masse, and fewer than 500 copies were sold by February 1902 (Lingeman 294). According to a legend he started himself, when Dreiser ran into Howells at the Harper offices not long after the novel's publication, the Dean of American Letters told him, "You know, I didn't like *Sister Carrie*" (qtd. in Lingeman 300). Whether or not the story is true, Howells failed to review the book in *Harper's Monthly*. Nor did Dreiser's friend Henry Mills Alden, editor of *Harper's*, do anything to promote it. It is not surprising, then, that Dreiser returned to the ranks of the "proletaroid intelligentsia" for another decade.

Dreiser's Divided Habitus

Dreiser's ambivalent, conflicted attitude—his apparent sympathy with Carrie coexisting with his identification with Ames—can perhaps be understood as an example of what Bourdieu describes as the "divided or double habitus" characteristic of bohemians in late-nineteenth-century Paris:

> Close to the "people" whose poverty it often shared, bohemia was [nevertheless] separated from the poor by the lifestyle in which it found social definition and which, however ostentatiously opposed to bourgeois norms and conventions, situated bohemia closer to the aristocracy or to the upper bourgeoisie than to the petite bourgeoisie or the "people." . . .
>
> The true "proletariod intellectuals" were often so impoverished that they took themselves as their subject and ended up inventing what was called "realism." These "penniless bourgeois," as Pissaro called them, bet what money they had on this enterprise, knowing

> they were sure to lose in the short term but ever hopeful of glory in the long term. In their divided or double habitus, these aspiring writers had already adapted to the position of being the dominated fraction of the dominant class. . . . The relationship that these writers and artists maintained with the market no doubt contributed to their ambivalent representation of the "general public," at once fascinating and despised. ("Flaubert's" 195–96)

Dreiser too derived from the impoverished "people," represented in his novel by Carrie, and, taking himself as his subject, "ended up inventing what was called 'realism.' " Yet he also desired to become the kind artist of whom Ames, with his anti-economic attitude, would approve. The result was an "ambivalent representation" of his working-class heroine, whom he finds "at once fascinating and despised." This "divided habitus," the conflict within a person drawn to two classes but truly belonging to neither, perhaps reveals what Sennett and Cobb call the "hidden injuries of class."

Dreiser's ambivalence towards Carrie probably owes something to his love-hate relationship with his brother Paul, whose success in musical comedy made him a model not only for Hurstwood but for Carrie as well. Paul often proudly claimed that he wrote his songs "for the masses, not the classes" (qtd. in Lingeman 181), but even though Theodore admired his brother's success and enjoyed his songs, he also disapproved of Paul's strictly commercial achievement and looked down on the money-grubbing Howley and Haviland. While editor of *Ev'ry Month*, Theodore printed an article by Arthur Henry that ridiculed the kind of popular musical comedy Paul wrote for and acted in (Lingeman 174), yet he quite enjoyed the light entertainment fare of the day, attending the comic theater frequently and habitually "humming popular tunes" (Lingeman 177–78). This is the same man who disparaged Bertha M. Clay but enjoyed working at her publisher, who scorned publicity but wrote often for the popular press. Apparently, then, his disdain for the popular was largely a pose, part of an effort to construct himself as a literary "artist."

By examining the relationship between Carrie and Ames in the context of Dreiser's struggles in the literary and artistic field, we come to understand more clearly the extent to which class conflict in this period was a battle for cultural legitimacy as well as for economic power. In attempting to gain entry into New York's elite literary establishment, Dreiser encountered the symbolic barriers that Ames unconsciously erects before Carrie, a classism all the more effective because it masquerades as moral and aesthetic superiority—"just kindly thought of a high order—the right thing to think" (237). His own "divided habitus," evidence of a psyche riven along

class lines, is further testimony to the violence of aesthetic disapproval and the durability of symbolic boundaries that separate the classes.

Notes

1. Critical works on class in America include Wai-Chee Dimock and Michael Gilmore's collection of essays and Amy Schraeger Lang's recent book. Even these critics, however, argue that class is "displac[ed] into other domains of social difference" (Lang 7) or "staged through" gender and race (Dimock and Gilmore 10).

2. Only money, not habitus, makes Hurstwood "a very acceptable individual of our great American upper class—the first grade below the luxuriously rich" (34). He is not well educated, he began at Fitzgerald and Moy's as a bartender, he worked his way up to manager but "lacked financial control (34), and his wife is an outsider who "longed to be" part of the "little conventional round of society" (64) that excludes her. Unless otherwise noted, references to *Sister Carrie* are to the Norton Critical Edition, second edition, which uses the Doubleday, Page first edition of 1900 as copy text. When necessary to distinguish between the 1900 and Pennsylvania editions, parenthetical page numbers will be preceded by Norton and Penn.

3. As Donald Pizer writes, Carrie, Drouet, and Hurstwood represent aspects of Dreiser, while Ames is who Dreiser thinks he "should" be (69).

4. Bowlby argues that Dreiser and the other naturalists refused to distinguish between art and commerce and to participate in the valorization of "the literary" (9). Fisher sees *Sister Carrie* as celebrating the dynamism of "the self in anticipation" (157) of the future in the expanding American city of the late nineteenth century; like Michaels, he treats Carrie as speculator rather than producer. These critics either give too little weight to Ames (Bowlby and Michaels) or ignore him (Fisher). In surveying the commentary on Ames, David T. Humphries indicates the continued dominance of the anti-capitalist reading (36–39).

5. Laura Hapke argues that Dreiser shares the conventional nineteenth century prejudice against working women since Carrie experiences work as a "moral threat" and must twice be "rescued by a providential male" (16). But she is rescued only temporarily, and a sign of her innate morality is her enduring emotional connection with the working class: "Her sympathies were ever with that underworld of toil from which she had so recently sprung, and which she best understood" (108; see also 334).

6. My thought on materialism is influenced by Elaine Scarry, who, like Marx, expresses a deeply affirmative appreciation of work, the body, and the artifact, or made thing, which is an extension of the human body. Since the artifact can be a

chair, a work of art, or God, this kind of materialism is genuinely spiritual in her view.

7. Albert Ross is the pseudonym of Linn Boyd Porter, author of *Moulding a Maiden* (1891); Bertha M. Clay is the pseudonym of Charlotte M. Braeme, author of *Dora Thorne*.

8. Ames articulates the high-realist aesthetic, which focused less on beauty or form than on the conviction that art should have some social or moral value. As Brennan argues in "*Sister Carrie* and the Tolstoyan Artist," Dreiser, like Howells, was influenced by "Tolstoy's belief in the great social responsibility of the artist" (2). Tolstoy, however, was insistently anti-elitist. Phillip Barrish, who owes much to Bourdieu, and Nancy Glazener argue that realism was an elite form opposed to the romance and to the melodramatic, sentimental, and sensational works read by the masses. Similarly, Amy Kaplan argues that realism was a conservative "strategy for imagining and managing the threats of social change" (10), while June Howard shows how naturalists constructed themselves as the powerful, articulate gazers upon their brutish, lower-class characters. For discussions of Ames, see Brennan, Humphries, Hussman, and Orlov.

9. Crawford's inclusion with Balzac and Hardy seems surprising, but in his own day his works "were found consistently in the best literary journals in England and America" (see note on Penn 572). Crawford published *Saracinesca* serially in *Blackwood's Magazine* in England in 1887, before Macmillan released it in book form later that year. For discussions of popular fiction in *Sister Carrie*, see Dunlop and Davidson. The Pennsylvania edition, based on Dreiser's original handwritten manuscript, includes the original ending and most of the some thirty-six thousand words Dreiser and Arthur Henry cut from the typescript. Henceforth, I will cite this edition parenthetically in my text as Penn.

10. My attention to the teacher-pupil relationship between Ames and Carrie is indebted to discussions with Lauren Muller, who is interested in "schoolteacher moments" in turn-of-the-century U.S. literature and in the power of literacy to oppress as well as enlighten.

11. In notes preserved with the *Sister Carrie* manuscript at the New York Public Library, Dreiser mentions that Carrie is a "Lillian Russell type." In the Penn edition, Carrie, a lowly chorus girl, sees how "privileged and deferred to" Russell is in rehearsal and realizes that she herself is "absolutely nothing" (391). The reference to Russell was probably removed at the insistence of Doubleday, Page editors, who wanted Dreiser to delete references to actual people and places (though they were inconsistent in enforcing this demand).

12. According to a note in the Norton edition, "comedy drama" is "a term for any serious play not tragedy" (354n2).

13. Michele Lamont's study of the boundary-building behavior of the French

and American upper middle classes also sheds light on the interaction between Ames and Carrie. A student of Bourdieu, Lamont argues that "symbolic boundaries" drawn by college-educated, upper-middle-class people between themselves and others are "more permanent, less crossable, less resisted" than other social boundaries, such as ethnic ones (11). The extent of Ames's education is not clear, but he looks like a "student" to Carrie and, in displaying his cultivation, unconsciously establishes symbolic boundaries.

14. Brennan argues that the revised ending "leaves Carrie in the 'middle stage,' wavering between instinct and reason, [while] the original ending portrays her completed growth" ("Two Endings" 14). He finds that the former, which downplays the rapport between Carrie and Ames, is more in keeping with the "text's deepest established truths" (19).

15. Dreiser adapted large portions of his November 1899 *Demorest's* article "Curious Shifts of the Poor" (rpt. Norton 415–23) for his chapter of the same name, which describes Hurstwood trying to survive in the Bowery. In describing the Brooklyn streetcar strike, he drew not only on contemporary newspaper reports but also on the 1894 story he wrote for the *Toledo Blade* about a similar strike (rpt. Norton 428–33).

16. The words are Norris's as Henry reported them in a letter to Dreiser, who was vacationing in Missouri with his wife and her family. This letter and the following one from Page are reprinted in Norton 447–49.

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Dreiser and the Writing Market: New Letters on the Publication History of *Jennie Gerhardt*

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Scholars have long noted how Theodore Dreiser's early experiences in the newspaper and magazine business influenced his future career as a novelist. Dreiser himself acknowledged such an influence at the end of *Newspaper Days* when he noted that the next phase of his life following his newspaper experiences could be titled "*Literary Experiences*" (673). Thomas Riggio refers to Dreiser's 1890s journalism career as his "years of literary apprenticeship" (xi) and observes similarities between the "callow reporter in *Newspaper Days*" and Dreiser's fictional characters, arguing that, similar to characters such as Carrie Meeber, Jennie Gerhardt, and Clyde Griffiths, Dreiser presents himself "as an example of the ways the innocent heart must do combat with the social order in modern life" (x). Ellen Moers observes how easily Dreiser turns journalistic narrative into fiction when he incorporates part of his 1899 *Demorest's* essay, "Curious Shifts of the Poor," into the final chapters of *Sister Carrie* (66–67) And Yoshinobu Hakutani suggests that Dreiser's magazine writing, more polished and developed than his newspaper output (15), particularly prepared him for his fiction career, noting that "the scope and depth of [Dreiser's] . . . thinking during these years formed an indispensable part of his work as an American realist" (16).

In addition to influencing theme and form in his work, Dreiser's early experiences with the publishing industry undoubtedly contributed to his persistent involvement in the editing, publishing, and marketing of his work, as Jerome Loving, Richard Lingeman, and others have documented in biographical studies. Dreiser's desire to control the publication and marketing of his own work is further emphasized in previously unpublished letters in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University and at

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the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. When read against letters from Harper and Brothers to Dreiser, these new letters pertaining to the publication of *Jennie Gerhardt* illuminate how Dreiser's interactions with publishing professionals and his experiences in the writing market informed his identity as a writer.

From May until November of 1911 (when he sailed for Europe), Dreiser participated in a vigorous exchange with Harper and Brothers regarding their handling of *Jennie*'s publication and marketing, and, in Lingeman's words, "bombarded Harper's with letters suggesting stunts to promote the book . . . and complaining about the dearth of advertising" (*An American Journey* 48). Early in May 1911, Dreiser challenged his editor, Ripley Hitchcock, about the production schedule, and in a letter dated May 5, 1911, Hitchcock tactfully responded to what was apparently a strong letter from Dreiser[1]:

> My dear Dreiser:
>
> I have your letter of May third. Why you should abuse me I do not quite know, but I take it that the harsh terms you use are really an expression of affection.
>
> Of course, you understand that the work on the manuscript takes time. Thus far, between one-third and one-half of the manuscript has been revised. I think that it can be finished within about ten days if all goes well. It is certainly being done very carefully and I know very intelligently.
>
> Thank you for the letters you sent down.
>
> Very faithfully yours,
>
> Ripley Hitchcock
>
> I shall not be ready to show you the ms. for probably ten days. I want to give it to you all at once.[2]

The letter implies Dreiser's impatience with Hitchcock's long revision process but reveals Hitchcock's determination to maintain control of that process. James L. W. West III suggests that Hitchcock was reluctant to show Dreiser the "thoroughly marked up" typescript of *Jennie* because it would call attention to Hitchcock's extensive expurgation ("Composition and Publication" 448), but Donald Pizer questions whether Hitchcock intended to expurgate the novel's sexual content and critique of religion, given the fact that Hitchcock had "pursu[ed] Dreiser for some years despite the unsavory reputation of *Sister Carrie*" and published *Jennie* notwithstanding the questionable moral actions of its heroine and its condemnation of organized religion (277). Indeed, Dreiser's acquaintance with Hitchcock

pre-dates Hitchcock's Harper's tenure and includes the period of prolonged illness that forced Dreiser to abandon *Jennie* in the early 1900s. In a letter dated February 27, 1903, in answer to a February 24 letter from Hitchcock expressing interest in his next novel, Dreiser voiced appreciation for Hitchcock's "especial and continued interest" in his work (*Letters* 71), but told Hitchcock that "nervous prostration" had forced him to cease work on *Jennie* (70). Given this longstanding relationship and the version of *Jennie* that Harper's eventually published, Pizer argues, we need not identify "every cut of the arguably repetitious, wordy, or lugubrious as the product of the censor's blue pencil" (278). Hitchcock's vague explanations for why it was taking so long to edit the manuscript and his reluctance to allow Dreiser to see the typescript can most likely be attributed to concern that Dreiser would not be pleased with the large-scale changes, expurgatory or not, in the manuscript's content and style. As later letters reveal, Dreiser's concern about this lack of authorial control were ongoing.

In late July and early August 1911, Frederick Duneka, general manager and secretary of the Board of Directors at Harper's, also responded to Dreiser's keen interest in the production and marketing of *Jennie*, reassuring him of Harper's commitment to the novel. On July 31, Duneka broached the issue of illustration and reiterated Harper's interest in the novel's success and the house's concern about and expertise in all phases of the text's production and marketing.

> Dear Mr. Dreiser:
>
> Mr. Hitchcock is out of town on his vacation so your letter of July twenty-ninth came to me.
>
> We shall be very glad to put a pictorial wrapper on "JENNIE GERHARDT" but we feel very strongly that it is exactly the type of book which should not be illustrated. We believe we know as much about making books and selling books as B. W. Dodge, and we have a deep interest in the success of this one.
>
> You say B. W. Dodge has lost some of the plates for "SISTER CARRIE." Is it not his duty to replace these?[3]
>
> Please rest assured that intelligence, ability, and vigor will enter into making and marketing your novel.
>
> Yours Sincerely,
>
> F A Duneka

Harper's reluctance to illustrate the novel is curious, given their long and distinguished history of publishing lavishly illustrated magazines and books. Illustration was also lucrative for the firm, as an early success dem-

onstrates: thanks to illustrator Joseph A. Adams's tireless work perfecting the engraving forms, Harper's *Illuminated and New Pictorial Bible*, published in the 1840s, was, in Eugene Exman's words, "a reformation of typographic art in America" and an enormous financial success (35). Duneka's assertion that *Jennie* is the "type of book which should not be illustrated" suggests his concern about the novel's content, and he may have been uneasy about the potentially provocative nature of illustrations connected with a novel portraying illicit sex, perhaps a clearer indication of the sort of "deep interest" that Duneka claims to have about the novel's success. Harper's eventually settled on a color frontispiece for the novel, and on September 19, Hitchcock wrote Dreiser, "Somebody has done a very good picture of Jennie and we may use it as a frontis-piece. I am quite sure that you will not be dissatisfied with it." Duneka's letter also includes his response to a comparison Dreiser must have drawn between Harper's and B. W. Dodge, who published an edition of *Sister Carrie* in 1907 with a color frontispiece illustration of Carrie onstage in her Quaker costume that obviously piqued Duneka and prompted his defense of Harper's decision not to illustrate *Jennie*. Duneka was likely aware that Dreiser had been heavily involved in the publication of the Dodge edition, Dreiser having bought enough shares in the firm, as West notes, to establish himself as "Director" and participate in all aspects of the novel's production ("Dreiser and the B. W. Dodge *Sister Carrie*" 325).

Duneka's continuing testiness in this and other letters about Harper's publishing expertise and his exasperation at Dreiser's lack of trust in Harper's handling of *Jennie* suggests that he believed Dreiser to be meddling in affairs that were properly the province of the publishing house. Duneka's response may also reflect the tense atmosphere at the firm generated by Harper's tenuous financial position at the time. Such a situation would, as West suggests, have put tremendous pressure on Hitchcock to produce a bestseller ("Composition and Publication" 440) as he had with Edward Noyes Westcott's "disorganized and unpublishable" *David Harum*, which Hitchcock "transformed" into a runaway bestseller for Appleton in 1898 (*American Authors* 53). Indeed, West argues that because "Dreiser was not Hitchcock's kind of author," nor *Jennie* his "kind of book," Hitchcock's chief motive for taking on the project derived from his hope that the novel would be reasonably successful ("Composition and Publication" 440). While reducing Hitchcock's motives to financial considerations alone seems to ignore the possibility, as Pizer suggests, that Hitchcock may have appreciated the novel's literary value and was attempting to improve it stylistically rather than morally, it does seem appropriate to read Dreiser's im-

patience to circulate pre-publication advertising as evidence of his anxiety about his own financial solvency and literary reputation. These concerns are earlier revealed, as West notes, in his willingness to accept financial concessions in his agreement to republish *Sister Carrie* with B. W. Dodge: "putting up $1,000 of his own money and agreeing to work for stock which, at this point, had no real value" ("Dreiser and the B. W. Dodge *Sister Carrie*" 325). Similar worries may have prompted his concern that Duneka would not adequately promote *Jennie* and motivated him to ask for selective pre-publication notices, to which Duneka replied on August 4:

> Dear Mr. Dreiser:
>
> There are always people in this office who are prepared to devote all the time to you that you may possibly wish. Mr. Hitchcock's absence makes no difference whatsoever as to devotion to your interests.
>
> It would be extremely unwise—in fact, it would be almost a calamity to give any one newspaper advance information about your book and not to give this information to other newspapers at the same time. To give it to one paper or to one or two means that those papers will notice your book and review it and the others, because they have been slighted, or because they at least feel thay [*sic*] have not had an equal chance, will ignore the thing entirely.
>
> I believe the publishing world generally will say that in the matter of newspaper publicity and in publicity generally we have perhaps as expert knowledge as any one in America. Our records a little more than prove this.
>
> A competent publicity man is yours to command at any time. But for Heaven's sake, let us treat all newspapers alike!
>
> As a general rule, it is unwise to say much of a book before its publication. Books press upon each other so rapidly that the newspaper reader becomes confused and soon gets the idea that this is an old novel. Newspapers will only give so much space to any one book. If this space is taken in advance of publication you get so much less after publication.
>
> The object of publicity is to induce a person to buy the book. If a book is not on sale at the same time that publicity is practically lost.
>
> I am enclosing you some copies of the advance notices you ask for.
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> F A Duneka

Duneka's explanation of the politics of newspaper advertising seems to have temporarily appeased Dreiser, who conceded the point a day later:

> Dear Mr. Duneka:
>
> You maybe [*sic*] right: Anyhow I'll keep my hands off—I haven't had 'em in very much. All applications will be referred to your office.
>
> Theodore Dreiser

Jennie's success appears to have functioned for Dreiser as a vital measure of the viability of his writing career. In an August 8, 1911, letter to H. L. Mencken, Dreiser listed the various writing projects he was currently pursuing but noted that "[i]f *Jennie* doesn't sell . . . I won't hang on to this writing game very long" (*Letters* 119). Lacking social and economic clout, Dreiser was, as West observes of most authors, at a distinct disadvantage when dealing with publishers, who began to consider themselves "quasi-professionals" by the turn of the century and quickly established specialized departments to produce and promote their books (*American Authors* 17). West notes that most authors knew very little about the production and marketing aspects of publishing and most publishers preferred to keep it that way, leaving the author with "no choice but to trust the publisher implicitly" (18), while simultaneously dealing with the clash between the traditional model of the author as, in Loren Glass's words, a "solitary creative genius" and a new model of the author as "part of a corporate publisher's marketing strategy" (6). Also during this time, "American writers began to lose their sense of authority and audience" and increasingly viewed themselves as "alienated" and "misunderstood" (West, *American Authors* 19–20). Later, Dreiser would become more secure, even in relation to publishing professionals, and in a March 1941 *New York Times Book Review* interview, Dreiser invoked his authority as a respected author to argue for a written history of the Street and Smith publishing house, the dime novel "fiction factory" where he worked for a time in the early 1900s.[4]

Just after publication, Dreiser again worried about *Jennie*'s marketing, apparently writing to complain that the novel had been slighted in the advertising. In an advertisement in the *New York Times* on Friday, October 20 (figure 1), *Jennie*'s notice is one of four small synopses sandwiched between larger announcements for two other Harper's novels, Margaret Deland's *The Iron Woman* (described as a picture of "dewy, virginal youth" told with "truthful idealism" and presenting "a new problem" in advertising—how to represent the "flood of praise" and stay "within the bounds of self-restraint") and Rex Beach's *The Ne'er-Do-Well* ("a clean story from

The IRON WOMAN

By

Margaret Deland

When a book has been out a month or so it is customary to advertise it by printing the kind things that critics have said. But THE IRON WOMAN presents a new problem in publishing—and advertising.

The flood of praise is already beyond all usual bounds. In fact, it is difficult to quote what the great critics say of this wonderful novel and still keep within the bounds of self-restraint. The praise is so overwhelming, so spontaneous, so universal, so extravagant.

Mrs. Deland pictures youth—dewy, virginal youth—in all its tenderness and passion, its foolish obstinacy, and generous impulsiveness, with truthful idealism. She portrays the elders—people whom life has hardened—with just as deep understanding and sympathy. "Not only the novel of the year, but the book of many years."

Illustrated. Post 8vo. Cloth. $1.35 net.

Adrian Savage

By LUCAS MALET

Now comes a new masterpiece to place alongside "Sir Richard Calmady." As a literary structure it reaches even greater heights. The style is a model. . . . The story? Love is the theme and we find it here—in gentleness and in tyranny—a compelling transcript from life. Savage is a distinguished young man, the son of an English father and a French mother. He is ardently in love with a young and bewitching French woman. An English girl, lacking beauty and charm, awakens Adrian's innate chivalry, and he is placed in the awkward position of declining a lady's unspoken love.

With Frontispiece. Post 8vo. Cloth, $1.25 net.

Jennie Gerhardt

By THEODORE DREISER

This is the life story of a woman who craved affection. Unselfish, sweet, she is the daughter of working people. And to Jennie, trusting and innocent at heart through all, there comes the unfailing ending. There is separation from the man she loves. He marries in his own class, but towards the close of his life, it is to Jennie that he turns. Here is a broad picture of modern life which is full of contrasts—the life of rich and poor, the factory, and the social butterfly, and the fanatic, and the epicurean.

Post 8vo, Cloth, $1.35 net.

Jane Dawson

By WILL N. HARBEN

The story of Jane Dawson—injured in her youth by a rich man—who lives to match son versus son with him is something fine and big and new. The typical Georgia rural community is here in all its picturesqueness and charm. It will be remembered that William Dean Howells has called Mr. Harben "one of our few great American localists." This story of the heart is also one of that rare kind in which religious sentiment is a real human factor.

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The Pretender Person

By MARGARET CAMERON

Author of "The Involuntary Chaperon."

A new travel-novel; the fresh unhackneyed kind of story Margaret Cameron invented. In this new book there is brought together a jolly group of charming people—men and women, old and young. Their flirtations and serious love affairs, begun on board ship and continued in the tropics, result in delightfully humorous complications. The charm and spell of Mexico, seen through all sorts of American and native eyes, are almost as rich in interest as the story itself.

Illustrated from Photographs. Post 8vo. Cloth, $1.50 net.

THE NE'ER-DO-WELL

By REX BEACH

Author of "The Silver Horde."

"Lots of go, and a clean story from start to finish."—*Helena Record.*

"Rex Beach's best book. . . . Will do more to make the public appreciate the magnificence of the Canal work than anything hitherto published."—*San Francisco Bulletin.*

"This story is a corker. In incident, action, surprise, character drawing, and dialogue it is a genuine *tour de force.*"—*Philadelphia Telegraph.*

"Sure to be one of the widely popular romances of the season."—*Chicago Record-Herald.*

"Many points ahead of his other ventures."—*Pittsburg Post.*

"Alive with incident and sensation."—*Boston Transcript.*

PICTURES BY CHRISTY

Post 8vo. Cloth. $1.25 net

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By Gen. Nelson A. Miles, is both an addition to history and a colorful story of a man's struggles and responsibilities. The part of the story dealing with the Civil War is only second in importance to such memoirs as those of Grant and Sherman. General Miles took part in many of its bloodiest battles. He was four times wounded, twice almost fatally, and he tells "how it feels to be shot." The narrative continues with General Miles's Western experiences with the Indians, the rescue of the Germaine girl and Custer's massacre.

Some Chemical Problems of Today

By Robert Kennedy Duncan, tells the story of the wonderful magic that chemistry is doing in industry and commerce. It brings close home to us the great part that chemical invention plays in our lives. It is a book for all of us, for it is not technical. Mr. Duncan also explains what far-reaching results in this direction follow the dissemination of knowledge by university extension lectures and correspondence courses.

A Living Without a Boss

Here is recorded the personal experience of a man and woman—tired and worn out in the city—who found new life and independence in the country. It has nothing to do with chicken-raising or impossible dream-farming. The man found that the country needs business men, and he put his hands and his wits to work—for himself instead of a city taskmaster, and the man remains a gentleman.

The Power of Tolerance

By George Harvey. In this volume are collected numerous speeches and addresses delivered by the Editor of the *North American Review* and *Harper's Weekly* on various occasions during the past few years. They cover a wide diversity of subjects, from "A Plea for the Conservation of Common Sense" to "Have Women Souls?" Political and economical problems are discussed with sanity and with the precious salt of humor.

Where the Money Grows

By Garet Garrett is a series of vignettes of Wall Street and the financial district, in an easy conversational style, showing the human nature of high finance and low—without its technicalities.

Spiritism and Psychology

By Theodore Flournoy. Translated by Hereward Carrington. About once every ten years a really good book upon psychics is published—a book, that is, which is epoch-making. Professor Flournoy's previous book ("From India to the Planet Mars") was one, and the present volume is another. The book begins with a brief account of the results of an extensive inquiry conducted by the author, into alleged super-normal facts—this being a study, from the psychologist's point of view, not only of the facts, but of the subjects who experienced them. Mr. Carrington has contributed a number of valuable foot-notes.

The Van Dyke Book

The Mansion

Now comes a new book by *Henry van Dyke.* Whoever has read "The Story of the Other Wise Man" can guess some of the new beauty and spiritual charm here revealed. "The Mansion" tells the story of a prosperous man, who in the Heavenly City, seeks the mansion prepared for him. A story—yes, a good story and one in which the lamp of spiritual truth burns brightly, stirring the reader and his conscience at the same time.

The New Novels

Victor Ollnee's Discipline

Hamlin Garland in this new novel relates the romantic adventures of a robust young chap who is suddenly plunged into a new world—his conflict between love and disbelief in spiritualism. Victor discovers that his mother is a famous medium. The working out of the dissimilar elements makes the story a romance rather than a spiritualistic novel.

Under Western Eyes

This new novel by *Joseph Conrad* is like one of Tchaikowsky's symphonies, and is done with all Conrad's intense realism and breadth of imagination. It is called "Under Western Eyes" because its revelation of temperament must seem to the people of Western nations very strange. The central figure is Razumow, a student at the University, supposed to be of humble origin, but really the son of a powerful nobleman. The story continues to a striking end.

The Fair Irish Maid

By Justin Huntly McCarthy, is a romance of the eventful days when the name of Bonaparte was the bogey of Europe, when America and England were for the second time at odds. The heroine reigns as the queen of a London season and proves her fidelity to a lover of her humble days. Brave, witty, and high-spirited, she is characteristic of her race.

The Nine-Tenths

By James Oppenheim, is the story of a big human-humorous business man, who, as the result of a fire in his factory which causes the death of working girls, is swept into the underworld, where the woman he loves cannot follow him. How the undercurrents of the city form these two is unfolded in a drama of stirring episodes. The huge city which does this becomes almost a character in the book. Out of the struggle a new type emerges, a working girl, who leads sisters and helps the hero to find herself.

Heart and Chart

In which *Margarita Spalding Gerry* tells the story of the love and the life of a trained nurse is full of the sweetness of pity, sympathy, and humor, with far more of heart than chart in its pages. Not only the naval hero, who has saved a comrade with danger to his own life and mind, but the frail woman who struggles so courageously against habit, wins our ungrudging admiration.

Track's End

Hayden Carruth tells the story in the words of Judson Pitcher, the boy whose strange adventures are recounted. As a result of a blizzard the railroad will run no more trains to the village, and every one but Judson leaves the country. Judson is snowed in. He digs tunnels through the snow, is attacked by desperadoes, and goes from one house to the other, firing, keeping up the illusion of a large number of defenders. He has encounters with wolves, buffaloes, and Indians.

New Books for Younger Readers

Old Ben

By *James Otis,* author of "Toby Tyler." This book continues the adventures of Toby Tyler. The Fat Woman, the Skeleton, and Old Ben, who befriended Toby in his circus career, now come to stir up his native village, excite the envy and stimulate the ambitions of its youthful population. Old Ben settles down to live in Guilford, builds a barn, has a barn warming, and the boys of Guilford have the circus people for their companions—to their great joy.

Tom Brown's School Days

"It has been my interesting experience," says W. D. Howells in his introduction to this classic, "to find the story of 'Tom Brown's School Days' even better than I once thought it, say, fifty years ago." Louis Rhead made a special sojourn of months in Rugby itself. In the illustrations, of which thirty are full-page size, he has recreated in a wonderful way the surroundings which have changed but little since the days of Tom and his companions.

HARPER & BROTHERS

Fig. 1. Advertisement, *New York Times*, October 20, 1911.

start to finish," according to a quoted review). The text for *Jennie* euphemistically alludes to the novel's controversial themes, describing it as "a broad picture of modern life which is full of contrasts" and noting that "to Jennie, trusting and innocent of heart through all, there comes the unfailing ending." On October 21, two days after the novel's publication, Duneka wrote to reassure Dreiser of Harper's competent marketing of the novel:

> Dear Mr. Dreiser:
>
> That Times advertisement was simply a preliminary canter and not the whole show. I don't think you will find any cause for worry about the way the book is treated in our advertising.
>
> Many of the arrangements we have made with you have met with your disapproval at first. I think in the end they have met with your approval. I think that finally you will probably say we are doing the thing in the right way. Perhaps you won't.
>
> But that will not be because we are not wholeheartedly back of the book, and it will not be because we are not spending enough money [in advertising][5] and it will not be because we are not spending that money in an intelligent way.
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> F A Duneka
>
> P. S. If you have any method to suggest, in the name of Heaven, please suggest it. Remember that you have also a certain interest in the success of "JENNIE GERHARDT," and we are glad to have that interest manifested and are eagerly hospitable to any suggestion that will make people buy the book.

Duneka's assumption that control over the novel, as well as an interest in its success, lies more with the publisher than with the author, as suggested by the postscript, surely did not sit well with Dreiser, who addressed a similar letter of complaint to Harper's treasurer, Frederick T. Leigh. That Dreiser so quickly questioned Harper's commitment to the novel again emphasizes his concern about reputation and finances, the novel's success, and his control over his work.

Two days after Duneka's letter, Leigh wrote to allay Dreiser's complaint about the size of the ads:

> My dear Mr. Dreiser:
>
> Without attempting to take up all that you have said in your two communications to me, but addressing myself only to the matter of the advertisement in the Times of Saturday, this advertisement was prepared for the special number and the column in the Sun for a

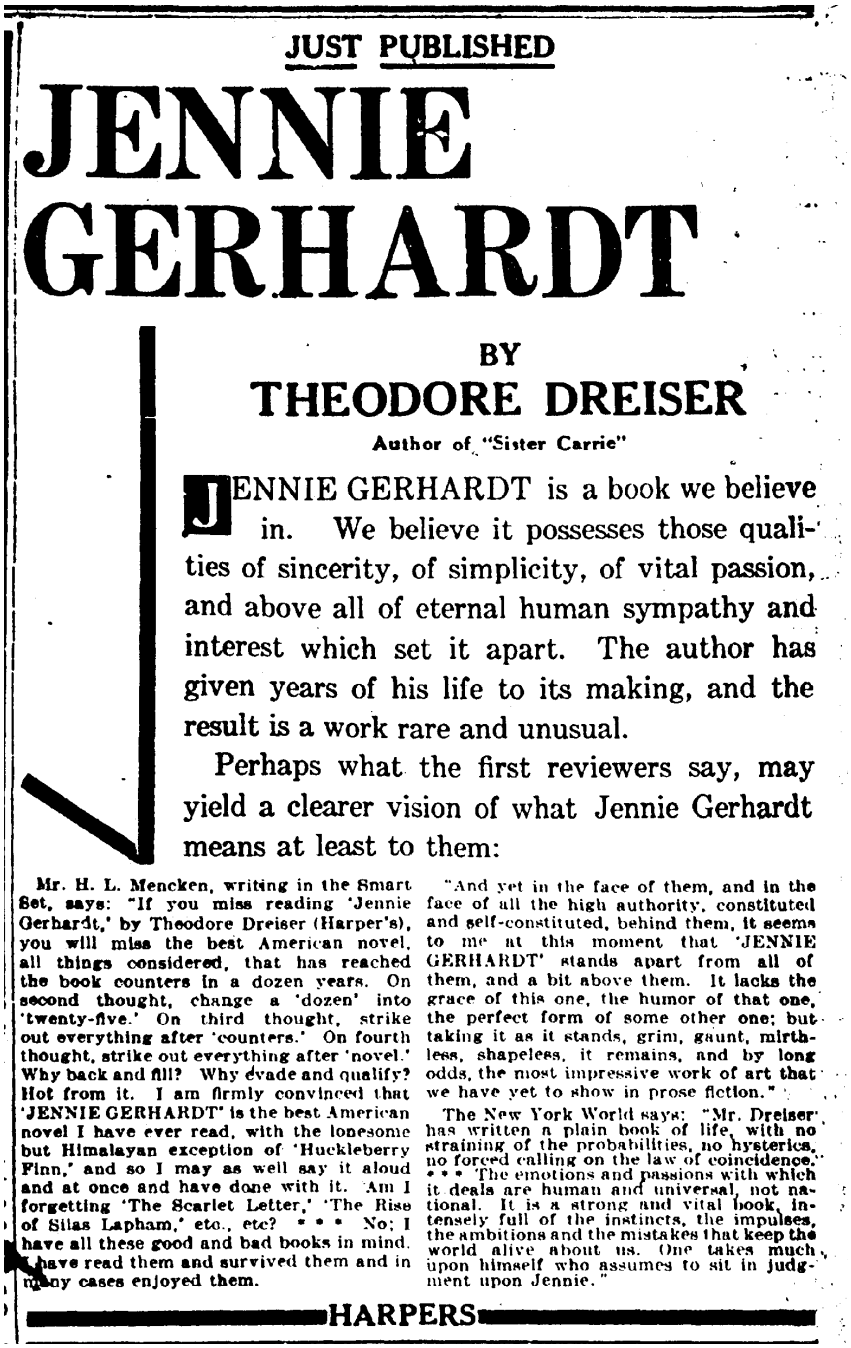
> similar reason.
>
> As to the space devoted to "Jennie Gerhardt" in these two ads., indicating in any way our confidence or lack of confidence in the book, this is not so. The book is hardly distributed yet to the booksellers throughout the country and at an appropriate time we will give your book what will seem to be proper advertising and exploitation.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> F. T. Leigh.

Leigh referred to a forthcoming ad for October 28, a smaller version of the larger one that eventually ran in various newspapers such as the New York *Sun* on October 26 and Boston *Evening Transcript* on October 27. In the ad to which Leigh referred, Harper's expressed support of the novel and acknowledged Dreiser's authorial effort. The ad also reprinted abbreviated versions of positive reviews by Mencken and from *The New York World*. The "column in the Sun" to which Leigh referred may be the October 21 Harper's ad listing the titles of and a brief statement about twenty-six new Harper's novels, including *Jennie*. Deland's *The Iron Woman* and Beach's *The Ne'er-Do-Well*, the two novels receiving the most attention in the October 20 *Times* ad, are the first two novels listed, with *Jennie* being the sixth, preceded by novels from Margaret Cameron, Joseph Conrad, and Virginia Demarest. The brief text below the title notes, similar to the *Times* ad, "[h]ere is a broad picture of modern life, full of contrasts," and ends, rather unflatteringly for the novel's heroine, by summarizing the novel as "the life story of a woman who craved affection and the price she was forced to pay for it."

Several days later, on October 26, the longer ad appeared in the New York *Sun* (figure 2), and Dreiser wrote the same day to express his approval.

> Dear Mr. Duneka:
>
> You would rather see free than paid advertising for your products any day, so here is an example. Thanks for the forceful statement in this mornings [*sic*] Sun.
>
> Theodore Dreiser

Although it is unclear what example Dreiser provided, he likely meant a positive review of the novel that he sent to Duneka, perhaps the brief mention that appeared the day before in the unsigned article "Authors and Their Books" from the October 25 New York *Evening Post*, which noted that "[i]t is seldom given to a critic to discover and proclaim a novel of the first rank,



JUST PUBLISHED

JENNIE GERHARDT

BY

THEODORE DREISER

Author of "Sister Carrie"

JENNIE GERHARDT is a book we believe in. We believe it possesses those qualities of sincerity, of simplicity, of vital passion, and above all of eternal human sympathy and interest which set it apart. The author has given years of his life to its making, and the result is a work rare and unusual.

Perhaps what the first reviewers say, may yield a clearer vision of what Jennie Gerhardt means at least to them:

Mr. H. L. Mencken, writing in the Smart Set, says: "If you miss reading 'Jennie Gerhardt,' by Theodore Dreiser (Harper's), you will miss the best American novel, all things considered, that has reached the book counters in a dozen years. On second thought, change a 'dozen' into 'twenty-five.' On third thought, strike out everything after 'counters.' On fourth thought, strike out everything after 'novel.' Why back and fill? Why evade and qualify? Hot from it. I am firmly convinced that 'JENNIE GERHARDT' is the best American novel I have ever read, with the lonesome but Himalayan exception of 'Huckleberry Finn,' and so I may as well say it aloud and at once and have done with it. Am I forgetting 'The Scarlet Letter,' 'The Rise of Silas Lapham,' etc., etc? * * * No; I have all these good and bad books in mind. I have read them and survived them and in many cases enjoyed them.

"And yet in the face of them, and in the face of all the high authority, constituted and self-constituted, behind them, it seems to me at this moment that 'JENNIE GERHARDT' stands apart from all of them, and a bit above them. It lacks the grace of this one, the humor of that one, the perfect form of some other one; but taking it as it stands, grim, gaunt, mirthless, shapeless, it remains, and by long odds, the most impressive work of art that we have yet to show in prose fiction."

The New York World says: "Mr. Dreiser has written a plain book of life, with no straining of the probabilities, no hysterics, no forced calling on the law of coincidence. * * * The emotions and passions with which it deals are human and universal, not national. It is a strong and vital book, intensely full of the instincts, the impulses, the ambitions and the mistakes that keep the world alive about us. One takes much upon himself who assumes to sit in judgment upon Jennie."

HARPERS

Fig. 2. Advertisement, New York *Sun*, October 26, 1911.

but no less is the happy fortune of H. L. Mencken" (7), followed by a summary of Mencken's November *Smart Set* review (a longer summary of this review appeared in the *Sun* ad the following day).

In a letter dated October 17, Dreiser had asked Duneka to look at the *Smart Set*, and in his reply the next day, Duneka noted, "I read yesterday the article in 'The Smart Set' and we are making an advertisement from it. It is a splendid tribute." In his October 17 letter, Dreiser had also voiced his concerns about the critical opinion of Hamilton Wright Mabie, associate editor at *The Outlook*: "I think you owe me something on account of H. W. Mabie, who, praise God, couldn't think well of me if he tried." In his reply the next day, Duneka noted that he had received a "private and personal letter" from Mabie and judiciously quoted some of Mabie's positive remarks about *Jennie*—for example, "I think his treatment is a reverential one and his picture of Jennie is very winning," and " 'Jennie' is a distinct creation of a rather new type." Duneka concluded his letter with the hope that "Mr. Mabie will say something of this kind in print." The fuller exchange between Duneka and Mabie underscores Duneka's chief concerns about the novel, however. On October 6, less than two weeks before publication, Duneka sent Mabie an advance copy of *Jennie* with the following explanation:

> I have a special reason for sending this Dreiser book, (it is called "JENNIE GERHARDT," by the way) because it provoked more discussion before we decided to publish it than any book since Thomas Hardy's "JUDE."
>
> The theme is rather unpleasant and it is a fair question whether any really good end is subserved. Of course, it is easy to say that it is a patent glaring phase of life which some author must touch, but this, after all, begs the question. The book is brutal in its directness, is written with almost violent sincerity, and in spite of its heroine being outside the pale it is about as suggestive as a Patent Office Report or Kent's Commentary.[6]
>
> I am wondering what you will think of it, and so I am venturing to bother you with it.

Mabie replied on October 11:

> I read Dreiser's book through, and at the end I liked it very much better than I expected to when I started it. In my judgment, that theme ought not to be dealt with too frequently in fiction, and always with the greatest reserve; but I think his treatment is a reverential

> one, and his picture of "Jennie" is very winning. One has no sense of moral dirt, except with regard to the men. Jennie is a distinct creation of a rather new type. There is a good deal of ability in the book, if Dreiser can be kept from getting obsessed by the general sex theme which has made so many writers of fiction insane.

Two days later, Duneka wrote to express his profound relief upon receiving Mabie's opinion, which confirmed that Harper's was not about to publish a "sex novel":

> You do not know how glad I am to find that you discovered in Dreiser's Novel [*sic*] the reverential treatment which we somehow felt was there. The main question was: Would the reader find it?
>
> I hate and loathe beyond possibility of expression the sex novel, and when it comes to the expression of this dirt on the stage, the constant occurrence of it has driven me from the theatre. I do not go twice a year.

Duneka's concern about the reader's ability to appreciate the novel's "reverential treatment" of Jennie persists in Harper's advertising. However, Dreiser's obvious pleasure with the *Sun* advertisement's "forceful statement" confirms his satisfaction with the use of Mencken's review in the marketing campaign and reveals his appreciation for Harper's expression of support. The *Sun* ad stated: "Jennie Gerhardt is a book we believe in. We believe it possesses those qualities of sincerity, of simplicity, of vital passion, and above all of eternal sympathy and interest which set it apart. The author has given years of his life to its making, and the result is a work rare and unusual." This ad differs significantly from the brief synopses previously published in the *Times* and *Sun* in its direct statement of Harper's support of both author and text. Yet, euphemistic references to "vital passion" in this ad or the "price" Jennie pays for "crav[ing] affection" in other ads also dance around the issue of Jennie's sexual fall and are reminiscent of Duneka's earlier concerns about the "type of book" *Jennie* represents, suggesting that these advertisements also constitute Harper's continuing efforts to alleviate their own worries, as much as the general reading public's, about the novel's treatment of moral issues. However, the October 26 *Sun* ad also exploits the market value of Dreiser's notoriety. Indeed, one of the ad's selling points, the line "Author of 'Sister Carrie' " added below Dreiser's name, shows that Harper's recognized the value (both monetary and literary) of Dreiser's controversial work, especially following B. W. Dodge's successful 1907 reissue of *Sister Carrie*, and the firm took the op-

portunity to work in a bit of pre-publication hype for their own upcoming edition of the novel.

This implied, if somewhat qualified, support of Dreiser and his work, warts and all, is also bolstered by reviews quoted in the ad. In Mencken's estimation of *Jennie*, the novel is the "best American novel" he has ever read, excepting *Huckleberry Finn*, and "taking it as it stands, grim, gaunt, mirthless, shapeless, it remains, and by long odds, the most impressive work of art that we have yet to show in prose fiction." Further suggesting Harper's belief in the novel's cultural value, the ad also includes passages from a review in the *New York World* proclaiming that "Mr. Dreiser has written a plain book of life, with no straining of the probabilities, no hysterics, no forced calling on the law of coincidence. . . . It is a strong and vital book, intensely full of the instincts, the impulses, the ambitions and the mistakes that keep the world alive about us." Likely representing Harper's own defensive attitude about the novel, the quotation ends with the line, "[o]ne takes much upon himself who assumes to sit in judgment upon Jennie." In addition to this strong show of support for the novel as a work of art, most likely Dreiser also appreciated Harper's acknowledgement of the labor and years he devoted to the novel's writing, many of which were difficult, as *An Amateur Laborer* reveals.

Apparently, Dreiser's concerns were not alleviated completely by the ad, however, and Leigh sent another letter to Dreiser two weeks later on November 8 carefully outlining the plan and purpose of Harper's advertising campaign.

> My dear Mr. Dreiser:
>
> Thanks for your letter of the 6th inst., making certain statements regarding "Jennie Gerhardt." Some of these things can be remedied and some of them cannot be.
>
> The hotels[7] that you mention, as a rule, cannot be interested in books until either the book has made a success or the author is one extremely well known. Last Saturday was the 4th of November. On October 27, a certain advertisement (copy of which is enclosed) of "Jennie Gerhardt" appeared in the Boston Evening Transcript. This ad has probably appeared in many places that you are not necessarily aware of. We don't advertise in Kansas City. There is not enough reading public and the rate in the paper is so high that, as a commercial proposition, we don't engage in that expense. The bookseller in Erie, Pa. is a small dealer and not only did he buy one copy but he bought two. Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, is one of that kind of towns that is so small, from the book standpoint, that we do not visit it. The

jobber cares for what trade there might be.

Of course, you understand that the experience of "Sister Carrie" was not helpful to the sale of "Jennie Gerhardt." I am not arguing about whether it is right or not,—I am simply stating to you a fact.

We in this House are trying to make "Jennie Gerhardt" a success. I believe that our advertising can be called very good. It is large in space, positive in expressing our own opinion and quotes at length reviews of the book.

I regret to read, even in the negative, anything about you being treated badly. Of course, it is unfortunate that the book dealer or the Library Association turned down our book on moral accounts. I don't believe that they are justified in doing so for if I did, we never would have published the book.

With very kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours

F. T. Leigh.

The *Evening Transcript* ad Leigh referred to is identical to the "forceful" *Sun* ad discussed above. Leigh's detailed explanations suggest that, like Hitchcock, he was exasperated with Dreiser's insistent criticism of the firm's methods. However, Leigh's reference to the novel as "our book" and his reiteration that the advertising reflects Harper's "own opinion" of the book also suggests the firm's belief that the novel does not promote immorality.

Duneka also sent a letter to Dreiser on November 8 in another apparent attempt to appease him in which he complimented (and solicited) his publicity suggestions.

Dear Mr. Dreiser:

I think there is a good [plan][8] in your letter which has just come to me and we [sha]ll try and push the plan of personal publicity as skillfully as we know how. It isn't always easy to strike just the dynamic note which will have effective force.

I had already seen the Chicago Post review of your book. We had Floyd Dell to luncheon once or twice, and while he is already an admirer of yours I managed to hammer into him some additional things about you. He has been very helpful and the book seems to be going well in Chicago.

Please remember that you cannot offer too many suggestions. Even if we cannot adopt them all, everything helps.

Yours Sincerely,

F A Duneka

Duneka's remark that Dreiser cannot make "too many" suggestions for advertising differs from Duneka's earlier reaction to Dreiser's meddling in the marketing of the book. Indeed, Harper's took some of Dreiser's marketing suggestions seriously. Leigh, for example, noted in an October 30 letter to Dreiser that, when "advertising a newspaper's expressed opinion of a book in its own columns," they would try his suggestion of "appending the name of the writer." Further, the "personal publicity" which Duneka agreed to try may refer to the practice of Harper's executives meeting with various influential individuals to promote their books, such as their lunches with Floyd Dell, the literary editor of the *Chicago Evening Post*'s *Friday Literary Review*, whose positive review of *Jennie* appeared in the November 3, 1911, issue. Eugene Exman notes that, following the restructuring of Harper's and the installation of George Harvey as president in 1900 (Harvey was responsible for bringing in Duneka and Leigh, among others), Harvey instituted various innovations to promote "publicity and good will" (201), including House dinners at Delmonico's (189) and birthday parties for Harper's authors such as Twain and Howells (201). It seems likely that the luncheons with Dell represented Harper's similar efforts on a smaller scale to promote Dreiser and other authors.

In his review, Dell, who later participated in the editing of *The "Genius,"* characterized *Jennie* as "bigger" and "finer" (98) than *Sister Carrie*, distinguished by "sustained strength," "penetrating vision," "boundless sympathy," and "nobility of soul," and written "without any straining for effects, without a sign of effort" (99). Dell claimed that Dreiser had "selected a theme of first-rate importance" (98) and had depicted Jennie's defeat simply and effectively without making her out to be either a "prig" or a "fool" as lesser writers might have done (100). Dell concluded that "the power, the truth, [and] the inspiration" of *Jennie* make it "a great book" (103). On October 17, Dreiser wrote to Dell's wife, Margery, referred her to Mencken's *Smart Set* review, but asked that she keep Dell from reading it to avoid biasing his opinion of the novel (*Letters* 123). On November 15, Dreiser wrote Dell to express a "sincere debt of gratitude" for his "broad kindly review" (*Letters* 128). Duneka's mention of Dell's review and the news that the novel was selling well in Chicago cast Harper's handling of the novel in a positive light and implied friendlier relations between author and publisher.

Yet the peace between Dreiser and Harper's did not last. Soon, Dreiser wrote to ask for an advance on his next novel. On November 14 and 15, Duneka wrote two letters in response to Dreiser's request, reminding him of previous agreements and contracts and observing the significant financial

commitment they had made to the marketing of *Jennie* and the connections between this commitment and Dreiser's next novel, *The Financier*.

November 14, 1911
Dear Mr. Dreiser:

Mr. Hitchcock has handed me your letter of November tenth in which you ask an advance payment of $4,000 upon your next novel, our answer to be given to you "by 11 A. M. next Friday," and $2,500 of the $4,000 advance to be paid to you not later than Monday.

Please believe that we appreciate the situation you set forth in your letter and we recognize that a visit to Paris and Rome will give atmosphere and verity to the novel [*The Financier*]; but we regret we can not meet your requirements.

Your letter was written, perhaps, in forgetfulness of the fact that you have already agreed in writing to deliver to us the MS. of this novel upon the terms set forth in your contract dated April 29, 1911.

The contract between us for this new novel of yours is an integral part of the arrangement under which we publish your "JENNIE GERHARDT." We have spent in advertising "JENNIE GERHARDT" up to the present time, $1545.82 and we have sold about 5,000 copies. To sell this book we have spent more than thirty cents on each copy sold:—and we have more advertising arranged for. We expect, however, to recoup ourselves, not so much from the sales of "JENNIE GERHARDT" as from the cumulative effect of this advertising upon your next novel.

We have no wish to hold any one too rigidly to the exact details of a contract and while your contract calls for no advance before publication, it would give us pleasure to make an advance commensurate with and based upon reasonable expectations of what a book may earn.

You speak of "two other propositions before you." Of course, these propositions can not refer to your next novel.

I have another letter asking for $500 advance on "JENNIE GERHARDT." We shall be glad to send you this.

Yours Sincerely,
F A Duneka

November 15, 1911
Dear Mr. Dreiser:

Here is a check for two thousand dollars as an advance upon royalties made out in your name[;] and a check for five hundred dol-

> lars advance upon "JENNIE GERHARDT," made out in the name of Miss Holly. We have to do this according to our contract with you. I have no doubt she will endorse it over to you.[9]
>
> Our understanding of this advance is that we are to see "THE FINANCIER" complete (the novel upon which you are now working), and if it should not be available you will return the money advanced to us if we should ask you to do so.
>
> While I do not think there is one chance in a million of picking out sixty thousand words for serial purposes, yet I am glad to have the chance to consider that. It might help things out a little.
>
> With all warmest wishes for a comfortable journey and the success of "THE FINANCIER," I am,
>
> Yours very sincerely,
>
> F A Duneka

Though West notes that Dreiser had "no other publisher waiting in the wings" to take over *Jennie* if Harper's revisions were unsatisfactory to him, as a clause in his contract allowed him to do ("Composition and Publication" 435–36),[10] he was entertaining the idea of publishing *The Financier* with Grant Richards, who presented Dreiser with a preliminary contract to that effect while he was in England in December 1911 (Lingeman, *An American Journey* 52). Dreiser could not have signed with Richards without violating his contract, yet the degree of loyalty Harper's expected of their authors, despite Duneka's deceptively munificent assertion that Harper's has "no wish to hold any one too rigidly to the exact details of a contract," seems to represent something of a double standard, considering, as West notes, Harper's tendency in the early days of the firm to ignore accepted contractual practices and claim the right to publish a manuscript despite the prior claim of another firm (established, at the time, by a newspaper or trade publication announcement) (*American Authors* 81n8). Duneka's efforts in both letters to make the terms of their contract absolutely clear to Dreiser, to anticipate and avoid in advance any misunderstanding, also suggest that Harper's learned they could not be too careful when dealing with the difficult Dreiser.

A week later, on November 21, Dreiser penned a short repentant missive from the S. S. *Mauretania* just before his departure for his European travels, documented in *A Traveler at Forty* (1913), bringing his skirmishes with Harper's over *Jennie*'s publication to a close.

> Dear Mr. Duneka:
>
> Goodbye. I think we are better friends than we think. I'll try &

be better. Wish me luck.
Th D

Following Dreiser's unpleasant experience at Doubleday during the publication of *Sister Carrie* and in light of the tenuous social and economic position that authors often occupy in a capitalist economy, Dreiser's concerns about the publishing of *Jennie* are understandable. Since, as Glass has argued, the "logic of literary value" in the early twentieth century reworked the relationship between authors' "labor and talent" and their texts' literary value to a formula in which literary value "corresponds to the economic investment in its promotion" (12), Dreiser's concerns about Harper's investment in *Jennie*'s promotion also reveals his understanding of this shift within the publishing industry. Yet, as Walter Benn Michaels has persuasively argued, we need not assume that Dreiser, who conveys through Carrie Meeber an "unequivocal endorsement" of "unrestrained capitalism" (35), harbored only hostility toward the market when, in fact, he seems in many ways to embrace it. Indeed, as Amy Kaplan argues, Dreiser promoted his own authorship and ultimately regained his health in the early 1900s "by competing successfully in the writing market which had destroyed him" (138). These letters reveal that Dreiser was conscious of himself as a marketable commodity to be consumed in print—in his own writing, in reviews, and in advertising—an awareness that later included other media such as film, as his disagreements with Jesse Lasky and Paramount over the script of *An American Tragedy* indicate. However, such an understanding of self in relation to the logic of capitalism also caused Dreiser some anxious moments about his public reception, and the letters demonstrate how his experience with both the pathologies and rewards of a capitalist market exacerbated his concerns about his identity as a writer and professional.

Notes

Unpublished correspondence between Frederick Duneka and Hamilton Mabie and Dreiser's letter to Duneka dated October 17, 1911, are published with the permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library. My thanks to Donald Pizer for directing me to the Dreiser letter. Dreiser's other letters to Harper's are published with the permission of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections Department at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Harper and Brothers correspondence with Dreiser is published with permission from the Board of Trustees of the University

of Pennsylvania's Rare Book and Manuscript Library. I wish to thank Keith Newlin, Stephen Brennan, and an anonymous reader at *Dreiser Studies* for suggestions on earlier drafts of the essay.

1. A check of Dreiser holdings in manuscript archives at the University of Pennsylvania, Indiana University, and the University of Virginia has not yielded Dreiser's letters to Harper and Brothers (dated May 3, July 29, November 6, and November 10, 1911) to which the Harper's editors responded.

2. Hitchcock appended these lines in handwriting.

3. On April 26, 1911, Hitchcock wrote to inform Dreiser that he would need written authorization from B. W. Dodge allowing Braunworth & Co. (to whom Dodge had sent the plates for *Sister Carrie*) to release the plates to Harper's for the novel's republication.

4. For the interview, see Gelder. Quentin Reynolds, author of a 1955 history of Street and Smith, *The Fiction Factory*, used Dreiser's statements on the subject as validation for his text and placed them immediately after the title page, noting, "This is the book which Theodore Dreiser asked for in 1941." Lingeman notes the inaccurate information about Dreiser that Reynolds included in the book, however, and a dubious anecdote that has a co-worker finding Dreiser "kneeling in his office, fingering a rosary and weeping . . . [while] praying for his dying mother" (*At The Gates of the City* 395).

5. This phrase is added in handwriting.

6. Duneka may be referring to *Kent's Commentary on International Law* (1878) by James Kent, the first American study of the subject.

7. It appears that Dreiser had suggested marketing the novel in hotels, though my reading of publishing and bookselling histories has uncovered no mention of this practice. If this practice existed and continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century, perhaps hotels constitute part of the miscellaneous 12% of locations in which consumers purchased books, as reported by a mid-1940s study commissioned by the Book Manufacturers' Institute and sponsored by seventy-eight publishing firms, including Harper's. This study also found that 32%, 22%, and 12% of books were purchased at book stores, book clubs, and department stores, respectively (Link and Hopf 80).

8. This word is added in handwriting and another indecipherable word has been crossed out.

9. Flora Mai Holly was Dreiser's agent when he published *Jennie*, and under the terms of his contract for this novel, she was to receive all Harper's payments to Dreiser. On January 6, 1912, he wrote to Holly from France, expressing his disappointment that the novel was not doing better so that she could "make some little money" from the sales (*Letters* 129).

10. West suggests that Dreiser may have hoped the clause would curb Hitchcock's revisions, though it seems to have had little effect ("Composition and Publication" 436).

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A Dreiser Checklist, 2004

Roger W. Smith

This checklist supplements *Theodore Dreiser: A Primary Bibliography and Reference Guide*, by Donald Pizer, Richard W. Dowell, and Frederic E. Rusch (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1991). It attempts to include all significant primary and secondary works published in 2004. This bibliography will also be published on the *Dreiser Studies* website: <http://www.uncw.edu/dreiser/studies/>.

As was the case with past checklists, this update does not include publications in which Dreiser is given only passing mention, nor does it include reviews of secondary sources. It does, however, include articles that contain nuggets of biographical detail (no matter how slight) that are not derivative, personal reminiscences about Dreiser, or excerpts from Dreiser's correspondence and books and articles that include brief original critical insight or comment on Dreiser or his works. When the relevance to Dreiser is not otherwise clear from the title, items receive brief annotations. Internet publications are not included.

For cross-referencing, each item in the checklist is preceded by an alphanumeric or numeric identifier that essentially follows the system used by Pizer, Dowell, and Rusch in *Theodore Dreiser: A Primary Bibliography and Reference Guide*. For book reviews, cross-references are provided parenthetically after the title of the book being reviewed. For reprints and collections of essays, they follow the complete citation. Publications by or about Dreiser (including translations of his works) in languages other than English have not been cited. They will be covered in a future update.

WRITINGS BY THEODORE DREISER

A. Books, Pamphlets, Leaflets, and Broadsides

A2004.1. Dreiser, Theodore. *Sister Carrie*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2004. Do-

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ver Thrift Editions. Reprints text of the 1900 Doubleday, Page edition.

A2004.2. ———. *A Traveler at Forty*. Ed. Renate von Bardeleben. The Dreiser Edition. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2004. A newly edited and annotated edition which restores a vast amount of text cut or left out of the original 1913 edition of the book. Restored portions are taken from the unabridged text of a later typescript, magazine articles based on Dreiser's 1911–1912 trip to Europe, and Dreiser's travel diary and correspondence.

D. Miscellaneous Separate Publications

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Reviews

The Last Titan: A Life of Theodore Dreiser, by Jerome Loving. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. xvi + 480 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

Why a new life of Dreiser now? And why one that, at just 401 pages of text, is less comprehensive than either W. A. Swanberg's still useful *Dreiser* (1965) or Richard Lingeman's compelling two-volume *Theodore Dreiser* (1986, 1990)? In answer, Jerome Loving points to Swanberg's bias against Dreiser and incapacity as a literary critic and to Lingeman's focus on Dreiser's cultural and social significance. "It was time," Loving writes in his preface, "for a biography in which this controversial life was put back onto the context of his great literary achievements." In other words, he offers *The Last Titan* as Dreiser's first adequate critical biography. In doing so, he expands upon the last chapter of his 1993 *Lost in the Customhouse*, which treats *Sister Carrie* as the last important expression of nineteenth-century literary Transcendentalism. Dreiser, Loving now declares, "was the last big voice to come out of the American nineteenth century," the legitimate heir of America's first Titans, Whitman and Melville, not simply the inarticulate hayseed-genius depicted by Mencken and succeeding generations of condescending critics. *The Last Titan* offers no startling major discoveries, but it is a highly readable, well researched, and essentially reliable story from the perspective of a major critic of nineteenth-century American literature.

As we might expect, Loving defends Dreiser against attacks by earlier critics and biographers. If Dreiser was superstitious, he was merely reflecting the late-nineteenth century fascination with spiritualism and never allowed such thinking "to invade his fiction to any serious extent." It was Arthur Henry who "betrayed" his friend and caused their breakup, not Dreiser as Swanberg contends. If Dreiser sometimes plagiarized, the fault likely lay in a nearly photographic memory that couldn't always distinguish between his own words and others' (though the widely publicized borrowings from

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Dorothy Thompson in *Dreiser Looks at Russia* are too blatant to be so excused). Dreiser's style may be "crude," but it didn't stop him from telling "an irresistible story"; his repetitions often serve dramatic function, and his "triteness" is simply a hangover from his newspaper reporter and freelance days.

Yet the Dreiser of Loving's narrative is hardly sanitized; he is still recognizably the tangle of sympathy, generosity, cruelty, and neuroses portrayed by earlier biographers. Loving is especially critical of Dreiser's treatment of women. After Dreiser's failures with Jug and Thelma Cudlipp, women "would become more or less a commodity to him," most of his mistresses having value as much for their "typing skills" as for their other talents. Many of his short stories from the 1910s, such as "The Second Choice" and "Married," were written as payback to Jug at a time when he was "[f]airly seething" at her. In this regard, Loving agrees with several recent critics who have challenged Dreiser's stature as an early feminist.

In putting the life in the context of the art, Loving necessarily covers much familiar ground. In the background of *Sister Carrie*, for example, are young Theo's sympathetic identification with his mother's poverty, his awe at first entering Chicago, his disappointments in the search for a livelihood, his meeting of Sara White on the train to Chicago's Columbian Exposition, his sister Emma's running away to New York with an embezzler, the street car strike he covered for the *Toledo Blade,* his introduction to the spectacle of Broadway by his brother Paul.

There are also numerous fresh insights—the sensual Carrie Rutter, a boyhood crush described in the holograph of *Dawn;* the mother whose girlishness and "nun-like" Moravian dress make her the first "Sister" who loses her innocence "in the crush of the mundane"; the St. Louis hotel lobbies where the young reporter gathered material for his "Heard in the Corridors" column and for later use in describing Hurstwood's refuge; the interviews for *Success* magazine that exposed the American Dream as a "sham." Another suggestion that rings true is the connection between the names Clyde Griffiths and the famous director and producer D. W. Griffith. The latter was "omnipresent" in the Hollywood where Dreiser began the novel and where he was tortured by jealousy as his lover Helen, a bit-player hoping to make it big, was continually being enticed towards the casting couch. While Dreiser's adulation of Helen might suggest that she played Sondra to Dreiser's Clyde, Loving sees her in a different role. As one of the "extras or try-outs" at the Griffith collar factory, Roberta Alden is consolation for the feelings of estrangement Clyde feels in Lycurgus just as Helen was for Dreiser, the Hollywood outsider. It is not accidental that shortly before be-

ginning the novel Dreiser attacked the modern Gomorrah in a four-part expose entitled "Hollywood: Its Morals and Manners."

A problem for any Dreiser biographer is how much credence to give Dreiser's sometimes-contradictory autobiographical works. Occasionally, Loving prefers the more romantic version, for example, Dreiser's near-suicide during his extended bout with neurasthenia after the initial failure of *Sister Carrie*. According to Richard Dowell's introduction to *An Amateur Laborer*, thoughts of suicide did not enter Dreiser's various accounts of his breakdown until 1924, when they appeared in an unpublished typescript titled "Down Hill and Up." In his last years, Dreiser elaborated on this myth by adding the so-called "Tonawanda boatman." It was, he wrote Mencken in 1943, a chance encounter with this "lunatic canal boatman ferrying potatoes from Tonawanda to . . . Brooklyn" (qtd. in Loving 171) that turned him back towards life. Loving accepts this late version even though it may be an imaginative reconstruction of events four decades old.

For the most part, however, he takes seriously Dreiser's declaration in the opening chapter of *Dawn* that his autobiography is not so much "a true record" as a collection of "very sincere impressions and transcriptions . . . as nearly accurate as memory can guarantee." One often-repeated incident in *Dawn* is Theo's deflowering when, as a high school freshman in Warsaw, Indiana, he was lured into an alley by a lusty German baker's daughter (Elias 22, Swanberg 21, Lingeman 64). While Loving does relate this colorful incident, he notes its absence from the holograph of *Dawn* and points out the different account in the Pennsylvania *Newspaper Days*, which places Dreiser's first sexual encounter several years later, during his stint as cub-reporter for the *Chicago Daily Globe*. By recognizing that "Dreiser distorted parts of his autobiography, either consciously or unconsciously," Loving calls attention to himself as the organizing consciousness of the narrative, a strategy that ought to win rather than undermine our trust.

In fact, *The Last Titan* is sometimes most interesting when it simply raises questions: Did Dreiser, as he claimed in *Newspaper Days*, leave the *St. Louis Republic* because he sought greener pastures, or was he fired by his editor H. B. Wandell, who considered him "not much of a newspaper man"? Did he have an intense love affair with another egotistical writer before he married Jug, as some of his early hackneyed poetry and some hints given to Dorothy Dudley decades later suggest? In 1924, did writing "The Irish Section Foreman Who Taught Me How to Live," which transformed the title character of the earlier "The Mighty Burke" into an inspiring model of fortitude, help him overcome his self-doubts as he "found himself stymied by indecision . . . over how to launch the tale" of Clyde Griffiths?

Others of Loving's conclusions have enough factual basis to challenge received views. While most biographers have accepted Dreiser's story that Mildred Fielding, an old high school teacher from Warsaw, was so impressed with his potential that she looked him up in Chicago and paid for his year at Indiana University, the truth as Loving sees it is more mundane: in 1901 Dreiser wrote Richard Duffy that he borrowed half the money from a friend and earned the rest on his own. Loving also offers a theory about Dreiser's last days at *Ev'ry Month* that warrants serious consideration. According to Nancy Warner Barrineau in her edition of Dreiser's *Ev'ry Month* writings, Dreiser was editing and contributing to the magazine through the September 1897 issue, a belief supported by Pizer, Dowell, and Rusch's 1991 bibliography. However, by April and May of 1897, Loving argues, the magazine's content and tone had changed so radically that Dreiser may already have given up editorship. Loving attributes the separation primarily to deep philosophical differences between the young Spencerian evolutionist and his profit-minded bosses, which included his brother Paul, but he also points to the publication of Arthur Henry's essay "It Is to Laugh" as important in the split. Published in the April 1897 issue, this satirical treatment of the kind of comic opera Paul wrote for and acted in doubtlessly aggravated the bad feeling between the brothers and may have been Theo's "parting gesture of revenge for his mistreatment, as he saw it."

Loving also believes that "the extent of Henry's collaboration [on *Sister Carrie*] may be greater than has been thought," even by the editors of the Pennsylvania edition. Henry not only encouraged Dreiser to begin the novel and helped him overcome writer's block, as has long been known, but in simultaneously writing his own novel, *A Princess of Arcady*, he also created *Sister Carrie's* "Siamese twin." Yet Loving does not reveal much family resemblance between Henry's "Arcadian romance" and Dreiser's "grim tale." A two-page summary of Henry's tangled plot leads only to the speculation that Henry's "use of nuns and a convent . . . may have had an associative influence" on Dreiser's decision to use "sister" in his title. Loving is on firmer ground in connecting the "florid style" of *Sister Carrie*'s coda to Henry's similar style throughout *Princess*. After all, Henry's handwriting appears in both *Sister Carrie*'s manuscript and typescript, and Henry seems even to have composed some of the flowery chapter titles probably added shortly before the typescript was submitted to Doubleday, Page. But Loving's contention that Henry was almost entirely responsible for cutting or moderating the "offensive parts of the book" before it was submitted to Doubleday, Page is not finally persuasive.

One reason to question Loving here is that he oversimplifies the revision

of the novel's ending. In his telling, the ur-coda of the manuscript consists of a single paragraph inspired if not actually written by Henry, a paragraph that was "merely shifted to the end of the Doubleday version of the book" and slightly fleshed out. In reality, the ur-coda contained, depending on where one chooses to see its start, at least two paragraphs. While the first of these was indeed transferred virtually intact to the new ending, that ending was greatly expanded to comprise eleven paragraphs, filling two full pages in the popular Norton critical edition and offering an extended apology for Carrie, a romantic "dreamer" who has mistaken men and fine clothes for the "ideal." There is no direct evidence of Henry's role in this revision. None of this disproves Loving's hypothesis; nor does it do much to support it.

As for the literary background of Dreiser's fiction, Loving acknowledges Dreiser's well-known debts to Balzac and Hardy but more often emphasizes the American influences that made Dreiser "a belated romantic in the age of realism and naturalism that he himself helped to define." Like others, Loving finds Poe's influence in Dreiser's ambivalence towards feminine beauty and, more particularly, in Clyde Griffith's fragmented personality, the product of "an imagination born in the century of Poe and honed in the age of Freud." In Dreiser's *Ev'ry Month* "Reflections" columns, Loving finds echoes of the Emerson who, in "Experience," "expressed a kind of determinism that would become Dreiser's lifelong paradox, for his heart went out to human suffering that was nonetheless regarded as inevitable." If Dreiser's naturalism "most readily meets the eye," transcendentalism "is always somewhere in the background." Having begun the biography shortly after finishing his *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself*, Loving is especially sensitive to echoes of the good gray poet. Several passages in *Ev'ry Month* show a budding artist nourished by Whitman's poetry, and *Sister Carrie* is "first heir to Whitman's fight to tell the truth in literature." Although the new religious acceptance revealed in *The Bulwark* (1945) and *The Stoic* (1946) owe much to Dreiser's researches into Quakerism and to Helen's delving into Hindu mysticism, "a catalyst in Dreiser's final development as a writer and a thinker" was his coming full circle to transcendentalism in *The Living Thoughts of Thoreau* in 1939.

Loving's appreciation of Dreiser's romantic antecedents informs his evaluations of Dreiser's work. Admitting that the 1912 version of *The Financier* is the best business novel ever, he yet faults Mencken for encouraging Dreiser not to cut it. In Loving's reading, Dreiser restricted himself to "the biographical and historical grid of his real financier's life" and thus was unable "to summon the great powers of his imagination" as he had in his earlier novels based on his family. There, Dreiser had explored "his

most enduring topic—that of the not-so-divine average American whose poverty sated the voracious appetite of . . . the Robber Barons." We might expect a similar estimate of *The "Genius*," probably the most disparaged of all Dreiser's novels and one often linked with the Cowperwood trilogy in its artist-hero's pursuit of material success. Loving does note the novel's excessive length and finds in the frequent melodrama and nymphomaniacal women evidence of "literary self-indulgence," but he balances this view with the contention that the book is "also epical in its strength and scope, dramatizing impressively the art scene in America in transition from New England gentility to the raw Whitmanesque celebrations of the self." In support of this view, Loving quotes at length from the review of Dreiser's English friend John Cowper Powys, who finds in the novel the same use of the vernacular, the same massing of details, and the same religious attitude towards sexuality found in Whitman's poetry.

Whitman is thus Loving's critical touchstone, one that enables him effectively to counter the charges of Dreiser's stylistic ineptitude without diverting himself from his main task of telling the life. That telling eschews the trendy new historicism that finds in Dreiser's life and works the crass materialism of America's emerging consumer capitalism. It is well to be reminded that Dreiser was first of all one of the roughs.

—Stephen C. Brennan, Louisiana State University in Shreveport

A Traveler at Forty, by Theodore Dreiser. Ed. Renate von Bardeleben. The Dreiser Edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005. xii + 991 pp. Cloth, $75.00.

The first time I sat down with my 1913 edition of *A Traveler at Forty*, I was most struck by Dreiser's observations on Europe's lower classes and by the way in which he forthrightly and often irreverently wrote about the "sights" on the Grand Tour. Although he clearly appreciated European history and culture, the ruins of the past became wearisome for Dreiser; the streets were "new and different . . . and more artistic than anything which any church or museum could show." Clearly, Dreiser was more interested in veering away from the beaten path and interacting with people than in following the advice of his Baedeker. For me, one who loved both travel writing and Dreiser, this was heady stuff. Knowing, however, that my Century edition of *A Traveler* had suffered dramatic cuts at the hands of its publishers, I was more than a little eager to see the Dreiser Edition of *A Traveler at Forty*. On that chilly March day when the book arrived, I opened the box

and was dumbfounded by the size of the restored edition. I could not believe that the original publishers had expunged so much of Dreiser's original text, and I was thrilled to be holding Dreiser's wish for *A Traveler* in my hands at last.

The Dreiser Edition of *A Traveler at Forty*, in which Renate von Bardeleben expertly restores the fifty chapters expurgated by the Century Company, "fulfills Dreiser's wish for the appearance of a more inclusive version of his travel book." Although Dreiser's work was repeatedly subjected to editorial emendation, not even his most controversial works, *Sister Carrie* and *The "Genius,"* suffered such extensive cuts at the hands of publishers. In *A Traveler*, the cuts diminished much of what makes the narrative so uniquely Dreiserian—detailed descriptions and studies of everything from European landscapes and locales to people, trivial and significant conversations and, of course, Dreiser's philosophies on topics ranging from art and religion to sexuality. Despite the cuts, *A Traveler* was successful and sold well; there were six editions between 1913 and 1930, and critics nationwide gave the book laudatory reviews.

Still, upon reading the restored text, it is no surprise that the editors at the Century Company felt compelled to cut so much material, considering the social climate in which Dreiser was writing. His encounters with prostitutes would have scandalized readers; for it is unlikely that Dreiser's more conservative readers would have delighted in reading about his examination of Lilly Edwards's naked body, and his gentle readers certainly would have been horrified to learn that the young woman was pregnant, a fact about the London prostitute that the Century editors chose to conceal. Moreover, those reading *A Traveler* expecting a Baedekeresque report of his stay in Monte Carlo would have cried blasphemy in response to another chapter, one entirely excised from the first six editions, where Dreiser, on a whim, attends Mass following an encounter with a prostitute who dances naked for him.

Though his editors recoiled from nearly all matters sexual, Dreiser places his sexual experiences in Europe right alongside his visits to the conventional sights of Europe. For Dreiser, not even those on the Grand Tour are exempt from the forces of human sexuality, and he suggests that "We talk of life sometimes as though sex were not a part of it, but after all, say what you will, travel we never so far in distant orbits, it is still the center of things—the blazing sun around which we are compelled to swing." These words, expunged from *A Traveler* until now, are the crux of this narrative. As usual, Dreiser places sex at "the center of things," but in this book he creates a travel narrative that speaks not only to the fundamental American

desire to explore the world, but also to the universality of human sexuality. For Dreiser, to travel is to do much more than visit museums and cathedrals; it is a sexual experience that necessarily connects the traveler to other individuals.

These anecdotes about Dreiser's intimate liaisons, as well as his other, nonsexual encounters, often result in what Bardeleben refers to as "character sketches"—close studies of individuals that demonstrate Dreiser's keen powers of observation. Throughout the narrative, Dreiser devotes a number of pages to characterizing those around him—prostitutes, Grant Richards, Sir Hugh Lane, Rella Abell Armstrong and, among others, Mrs. Stoop, a woman whom Bardeleben has been unable to identify, but about whom Dreiser writes candidly because she seemed "a very interesting person to describe." "Interesting" indeed and, although the studies are often sexual in nature or in some other way risqué, they make up some of the most fascinating material in the book and can be seen as forerunners to the sketches that comprise *Twelve Men* and *A Gallery of Women*.

But what of the restored text as a travel narrative? Dreiser's observations of the streets, the sights, and the people of Europe represent a clear departure from the travel narratives that typified the early years of the twentieth century, yet it is exactly these differences that make *A Traveler* so important for scholars in this field. Dreiser visits the places one is expected to visit on the Grand Tour—the Louvre, the Colosseum, Notre Dame—but readers will not find "dry-as-dust" descriptions of museums and art galleries within these pages; instead, we discover Dreiser's desire to experience Europe, something that led him to go out into the streets without his trusty Baedeker on more than one occasion. Growing weary of "the interiors of museums" and escaping "to the gate of some [Roman] villa in order that [he] might restore [his] soul among its avenues and walks," Dreiser ventures into the byways of Europe, to places seemingly much more alive than the standard sights.

However, while we delight in many of Dreiser's departures from the beaten path, some of his meanderings reap less than exhilarating prose such as when the topics of discussion become Jones's sausage and the weather—prosaic reading even for the most dedicated Dreiser scholar. In one restored chapter, Dreiser describes in great detail a luncheon with the editors of the Century Company prior to the European trip. While he lays out the general details of his contract with the Century Company, significant information for posterity's sake, the material seems oddly out of place in what is supposed to be a travel narrative. The detail with which Dreiser reports the meeting is impressive but, in the end, the anecdote adds little to the text, and

it is not surprising that the Century editors cut it. Still, emerging from these pages is a more candid look at Dreiser the individual; thus, even his seemingly lackluster commentary proves to be worthwhile for those willing to wade through the material.

And speaking of wading through material—that is exactly the image that comes to mind when we think of Bardeleben as she worked to restore the text and to provide an impressive apparatus for the Dreiser Edition. Voluminous end notes, both historical and textual, as well as a lucid commentary on the history of the book aid readers as they discover for the first time the secrets of Dreiser's European experience. People and places that would otherwise remain a mystery come to life and take on a form that is as real as Dreiser himself because of Bardeleben's hard work. The result is an accessible and useful volume that will be appreciated for years to come. More than ninety years overdue, this is an edition that truly impresses.

—Donna Packer-Kinlaw, University of Maryland, College Park

Theodore Dreiser: Interviews, ed. Frederic E. Rusch and Donald Pizer. The Dreiser Edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. 371 pp. Cloth, $50.00.

This welcome and extremely valuable addition to the Dreiser canon contains 74 face-to-face interviews spanning the years from January 1902 (when the 30-year-old author of *Sister Carrie* was interviewed by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* while visiting with his wife Jug's family in Missouri) to January 1946 (when the Communist Party organ *People's World* published an article by Esther McCoy based on conversations with Dreiser in the last few months of his life).

The interviews took place at Dreiser's residences in New York and Los Angeles—one was partially conducted in the back seat of an open car as Helen Richardson drove Dreiser and his interviewer around Brooklyn—and also in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Michigan, Texas, and Indiana, as well as Berlin and Paris during Dreiser's European jaunts. They make for enjoyable reading and are consistently informative and revelatory. How does one account for this, given what would seem to be inherent limitations of the genre? The answer is that Dreiser, a former newspaperman himself, was a good interview subject. He seems to have enjoyed the attention greatly. Also, his interlocutors (many of whom were female and to whom Dreiser made advances in at least one instance) were good writers themselves, and, in contrast to journalistic practice today, the interviews were often con-

ducted and written in a stately, deliberate, and mannered fashion, eschewing glibness in tone and superficiality of coverage. Finally, the interviews tended to be comparatively long pieces, allowing for a certain depth and level of detail.

It is interesting to see, retrospectively, how highly Dreiser was thought of in his day: a titan of literature, "one of the greatest of American novelists" (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1918) and "the grim realist who shocked prewar America with 'Sister Carrie' and changed the national literature" (*New York World-Telegram*, 1934), to say nothing of being a controversial, provocative and, therefore, sought-after interviewee, a writer whose sexual frankness and battles against censorship attracted great interest on that score alone.

The descriptions given of Dreiser's mien and appearance, the close-up glimpses we get of him, are fascinating and remarkably consistent from writer to writer and article to article. "[H]is English can be gratingly unmelodious" (*New York Evening World*, 1914). "He frequently presses his hair backward in the manner of a small boy training his hair" (*New York World*, 1925). "The man is tall and husky, a lumbering fellow who towers above you. . . . His conversation . . . is liberally besprinkled with 'd'you see?' and 'don't you know?' (*Haldeman-Julius Monthly*, 1925). "Dreiser's head is too heavy for his powerful, rather well-proportioned body. His full lips, a little sullen, pout back from strong, white teeth which clip off his words; a schoolboy pompadour staggers back from the high, over-crammed forehead, with a certain air of pugnacity" (*Denver Post*, 1926). "Dreiser's manner is gentle and mild; almost diffident. His voice is very soft" (*Musical America*, 1929). His habit of continually unfolding and refolding his handkerchief is often remarked upon.

The odd reminiscence or biographical fact captured by individual interviewers reveals tantalizing glimpses of Dreiser's behavior in social situations. For example, in 1932, when Dreiser visited San Francisco to speak at a rally for the imprisoned labor leader Tom Mooney, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "The welcoming reception was over and the author was relaxing as he leaned against the highboy in his room at the exclusive and expensive Hotel Mark Hopkins. In his hand he held a glass of Scotch whisky, which every now and then he replenished without inviting his companions to join him." Other pieces capture Dreiser being Dreiser—in 1935 at his estate, Iroki, for example, stripping and jumping into the cold water of his pool for a bracing swim on an autumn afternoon while his male interviewer tried not to notice his nakedness.

Discussion of the writing process *per se* does not seem to have interested

Dreiser much, indicating perhaps that writing was something that (though he labored at it) he did instinctively, without thinking much about it. Occasionally, though, his offhand remarks throw light on his habits. For example, he told one interviewer, "I find I can write many hours consecutively without rest." But Dreiser was happy to offer opinions on literary topics in general—he seems to have been especially partial to the Russians, particularly Dostoevsky. He seems, the editors note, to have been more inclined to place himself in the tradition of nineteenth-century European tragic realism than of Zolaesque naturalism. He frequently mentions his favorite books and authors, many of them now largely forgotten. Dreiser told one interviewer that he was not a deep reader: "I do not read much. Just enough to feel the tendency of the times."

Dreiser often comes across in these pages as smug, intellectually shallow, and self-important—despite his protestations of disdain for recognition, riches, or social status. He often appears to be out of his depth when posing as an authority on matters literary, historical, or academic, or when pontificating about political, economic, and social questions of the day. On occasion he would make anti-Semitic statements either overtly or by innuendo while at other times expressing profound admiration for Jews and their culture. He was given to crude stereotyping of Jews as well as of other races and nations. The tone of the interviews became increasingly strident and belligerent in his later years, with anti-capitalist rants, harsh and derisive criticisms of America and democracy, and, as World War II approached, anti-interventionist and virulently anti-British statements. He would respond with outright contempt for views expressed by interviewers daring enough to challenge him.

Locating and inventorying Dreiser interviews is in itself a daunting task. The editors provide the following essential inventory in a bibliography at the back of the book:

- A total of 184 fully identified interviews are listed, 73 of which are included in this volume.
- Twenty-one hitherto undiscovered interviews have been identified (out of the above total of 184). Twelve of these newly discovered interviews (two translated from the original French) are published in this volume.
- Four interviews are listed that exist in manuscript form only. One of these, hitherto undiscovered, is included in this volume.
- Twenty-one interviews are listed for which a clipping exists but that could not be located or verified.
- Twenty-two additional items cited in Part F (Interviews and

Speeches) of the Dreiser bibliography by Pizer, Dowell, and Rusch have been reclassified under the category "Items Other Than Interviews," since they are reports of speeches or lectures by Dreiser and not interviews per se.

- Seven of the 74 interviews included in this volume have previously been reprinted (in one case partially) in secondary sources, with the remainder being reprinted for the first time.

The editing and scholarly apparatus of this volume are consistent with the Dreiser Edition's high editorial standards. The index is detailed and very useful, since it includes topically-oriented (subject matter) as well as name entries. One error I did note is that a footnote on page 149 refers to a character in *The Titan*, Berenice Fleming, as "Beatrice" Fleming.

The editors deserve the thanks of Dreiserians for unearthing and compiling these very revealing interviews. They have the immediacy and candor of old snapshots.

—Roger W. Smith

Blood & Ink: An International Guide to Fact-Based Crime Literature, by Albert Borowitz. Note by Jacques Barzun. Foreword by Jonathan Goodman. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2002. xviii + 524 pp. Cloth, $65.00.

Quick: what do Theodore Dreiser, Margaret Atwood, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Lillian Hellman, and Brill Building songsmiths Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller have in common? All are crime writers, having based one or more imaginative works on actual criminals and their celebrated or obscure crimes.

Compiled entirely by the author, a retired lawyer, true crime aficionado, and crime writer himself, and based largely on the holdings of the Borowitz True Crime Collection donated by him to the Kent State University Library Special Collections, this entertaining and idiosyncratic collection of brief entries on crime writers and their work is something between an annotated bibliography, literary encyclopedia, and descriptive catalogue. Entries are arranged alphabetically by author and numbered for each subsequent entry. Thus, items D.35 and D.36, bracketed by entries on Fyodor Dostoyevsky and John Dryden, offer longish entries on Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* and the Cowperwood trilogy, respectively. Borowitz's annotations, which range between 100 and 1000 words, depending variously on the notoriety of the crime or the literary merit of the work arising from it, usually offer a

brief recital of the criminal act and an account of the author's interest in and treatment of the crime. In D.35, for instance, Borowitz details Dreiser's extensive search for a suitable murder on which to base a novel and comments cryptically on Dreiser's substitution of Griffiths's "innocent" camera tripod for Gillette's "murderous tennis racket." Dreiser's *noir*-ish observation that "A big city is not a teacup to be seasoned by old maids" livens the entry on the Cowperwood books, which also quotes from his classic comparison, in *The Stoic*, of British and American ways of doing business. There's nothing new or controversial here, but the annotations might, by branding Dreiser as a "true crime writer" rather than a formidable figure out of literary history, have the effect of attracting new readers and steering them away from *Sister Carrie* and toward the later, mature works. Collectors of Dreiseriana may be interested in figure 17 of the volume's too-limited plates. It reproduces the cover of a song sheet for "Entreating," an obscure musical work by the equally obscure Maud E. Gould. Dedicated to "the memory of Miss Grace Brown," it prominently features a photograph of Gillette's victim. Additionally, item G.19 points readers to the 1950s-era *Gold Medal Series of Classic Murder Trials* in twelve paperback volumes. The 1955 entry in the series, luridly titled *Death Was the Bridegroom*, covers the Gillette-Brown case.

Browsing through the encyclopedic *Blood & Ink*, which is comprised of hundreds of entries on fictional and non-fictional accounts of crimes ranging from murder and treason to imposture and burglary and dating from classical times to the near present, produces numerous refreshing juxtapositions of familiar writers one normally keeps in widely separate conceptual boxes. Thus, novelists Atwood and Dreiser can both be considered as addressing the relationship between social class and criminal guilt; Dreiser intersects with Leiber and Stoller in plucking a sensational murder with a clear sexual element from recent news reports and effectively normalizing behaviors that public moralizers of the day would have classed as deviant; Hellman, Longfellow, and Dreiser present the crimes they treat as emblematic of social or economic pressures peculiar to American culture's uneasy yoking of consumerism and Puritanism.

Tracing other contiguities of crime through *Blood & Ink*, one notices how important an element true crime was to nineteenth-century realism, American literary naturalism, and the literature of social protest. Besides the two Dreiser entries, there are entries for contemporaries Frank Norris (*McTeague)*, Upton Sinclair (*Boston*) Richard Wright *(Native So*n), H. L. Mencken ("Inquisition"), and Stephen Crane (*Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*), to name a few. One also notes that certain crimes are more likely to attract the notice of writers. Criminal examples of institutional social injus-

tice have typically inspired more than one treatment: the cases of the Scottsboro Boys and Sacco and Vanzetti have a half-dozen entries each, for example. Among murders, those combined with a whiff of sex, like the Gillette-Brown case, appear to have attracted more writers from different walks than have murders political; and the unsolved crime is generally a better draw than the solved.

All in all, while not an essential item for the Dreiserian's shelf, *Blood & Ink* is a handy book to keep on the nightstand, carry to the doctor's office, or hand to a bookless house guest.

—Carol S. Loranger, Wright State University

News & Notes

In Memoriam

Clara Clark Jaeger, Dreiser's secretary from 1931 to 1934, died on November 5, 2005, in the village of Knebworth, near London, England. After reading *Dawn* shortly after it was published in 1931, and then *An American Tragedy*, Clark wrote to Dreiser to tell him how much the books had moved her. The writer responded by inviting her to visit him, and thus began a four-year relationship in which she served primarily as his secretary and, later, as editor of a number of his articles and the manuscript of *The Stoic*. In 1946 she married William Jaeger, an internationally-known leader in the Moral Re-Armament Association, an organization that sought to foster spiritual growth among people of all faiths as a way of making a better world. In 1988, Jaeger published *Philadelphia Rebel: The Education of a Bourgeoisie*, which includes a detailed memoir of her time with Dreiser; and in 1995 she published a biography of her husband, *Never to Lose My Vision: The Story of Bill Jaeger*.

Conference Reminder

Chester, Grace, and Dreiser: The Birth of *An American Tra*gedy will be held June 22-24, 2006, in Herkimer, NY. For details, see the conference posting on the Dreiser Society web site:
<http://www.uncw.edu/dreiser/announcements.htm>

Reprint rights for the 1992 Pennsylvania Edition of *Jennie Gerhardt*, edited by Jim West, have reverted to the University of Pennsylvania Press, which will issue a paperbound reprinting of this restored text in January, together with the introduction that West wrote for the 1994 Penguin 20th-Century Classics paperback. Teachers who wish to assign the text can have their bookstores order copies from the University of Pennsylvania Press.

Contributors

Stephen C. Brennan teaches English at Louisiana State University in Shreveport. The co-editor of *Dreiser Studies*, he has published a number of articles on Dreiser and is working on a documentary volume on Dreiser for the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*.

Carol S. Loranger is Director of Graduate Studies in English and teaches nineteenth- and twentieth-century American literature and literary theory at Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio.

Nina Markov recently received her Ph.D. in English from the University of California, Berkeley. She is currently a Visiting Scholar in the American Civilization department at Brown University. She has taught at UC Berkeley, Brown University, Emerson College, and the Rhode Island School of Design.

Donna Packer-Kinlaw is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Maryland. The Secretary/Treasurer of the Dreiser Society, she has contributed to *Dreiser Studies* and to *A Theodore Dreiser Encyclopedia*. She is currently working on her dissertation, which focuses on travel writing by Dreiser, Wharton, and James.

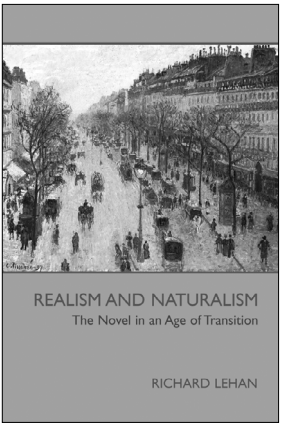
Roger W. Smith is an independent scholar. He is *Dreiser Studies'* Bibliographer and is working on an updated bibliography of Dreiser scheduled for publication next year by the Edward Mellen Press.

Gary Totten is assistant professor of English at North Dakota State University. He has published articles on Dreiser and his contemporaries and is the editor of a volume of essays on Edith Wharton and material culture, forthcoming from the University of Alabama Press. He is currently working on a manuscript addressing the impact of tourist and visual culture in Dreiser's travel narratives.

Realism and Naturalism

The Novel in an Age of Transition

Richard Lehan



"In its coverage and analysis Lehan's book is superb and without parallel . . . And few possess his capacity to analyze clearly and incisively often complex and abstract literary, philosophical, and social issues."
—Donald Pizer, Tulane University

"Lehan does for realism and naturalism what Louis Menand does for pragmatism in *The Metaphysical Club*. Lehan's book both popularizes his field and illuminates it originally. It is the most important work in the history of such studies, the culmination of a life's work on the subject by a scholar and a writer."
—Jerome Loving, Texas A&M University

Lehan's book provides an illuminating and readable comprehensive intellectual and literary history of the major American, British, and Continental novels of Realism and Naturalism from 1850 to 1950. He offers readers a new way of reading these novels—working outward from the text to forms of historical representation. In this way, literary naturalism can be seen as a narrative mode that creates its own reality separate from that of other narrative modes. Lehan contends, readers will find a spectrum of meaning in these works that allows and encourages intertextuality—one novel talking or responding to another—for example, Zola's *Nana* to **Dreiser's *Sister Carrie***.

Lehan covers all of the subgenres of realism and naturalism—the gothic novel, the urban novel, the detective novel, the novel of imperial adventure, the western novel, the noir novel, and the novels of utopia and distopia. The range of novelists covered is staggering: Charles Dickens, Victor Hugo, T. S. Eliot, Honoré de Balzac, Gustave Flaubert, Mark Twain, Eugene Sue, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Kate Chopin, Edith Wharton, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Willa Cather, Theodore Dreiser, Emile Zola, Guy de Maupassant, among others.

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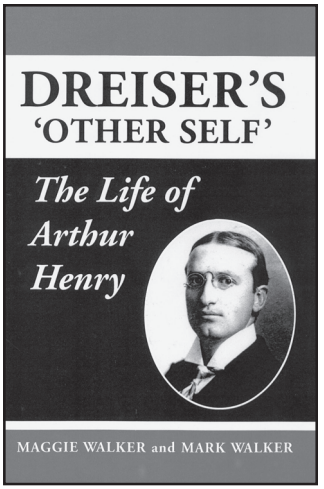
"A fresh and valuable addition to Dreiser scholarship."
—Richard Lingeman, Dreiser Biographer and Senior Editor, *The Nation*



Dreiser's 'Other Self'
The Life of Arthur Henry
Maggie Walker and Mark Walker

This is the first full biography of Arthur Henry, a pivotal figure in American letters, best known to history as the man who convinced his closest friend, Theodore Dreiser, to start writing fiction. It is based on previously unavailable materials, inherited by Maggie Walker, Henry's granddaughter. The book has been highly praised by several Dreiser scholars. Keith Newlin, Co-Editor of *Dreiser Studies* found it, "Fascinating and thoroughly enjoyable—a pleasure to read."

"Readable and arresting. A peripheral historical figure is here recovered and given a life of his own, connected with his time and various important people, not least of them Dreiser. By providing context, the Walkers have enlarged understanding of both Henry's and Dreiser's accounts of events."
—Robert H. Elias, Author of *Dreiser: Apostle of Nature*;
Emeritus Professor of English, Cornell University

"By taking Arthur Henry out of the shadow of his much publicized friendship with Theodore Dreiser, he emerges in these pages as a remarkable figure in his own right—an American original whose story is inseparable from many of the major events of his day. His career as newsman, freelance writer, novelist, playwright, and a still highly readable memoirist is told against the backdrop of a personal life that possesses a compelling drama of its own."
—Thomas P. Riggio, Professor of English, University of Connecticut
and General Editor of the Dreiser Edition

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